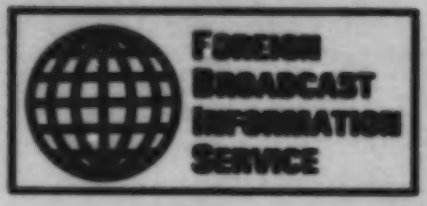

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-244
Wednesday
19 December 1990

Daily Report
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FBIS-EEU-90-244 *19 December 1990*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

2 Arrested for Possession of Grenades, Dynamite *[Tirana International]* 1
Demonstrators To Be Tried for 'Illegal Acts' *[TANJUG]* 1
Refugees Report 'Several Hundred' Casualties *[Belgrade Radio]* 1
New Parties Register; Religious Revival Held *[Zagreb Radio]* 1
Green Party Said Founded Illegally Last Month *[AFP]* 1
Union of Working Youth Discusses Agenda *[Tirana Radio]* 2
Hungarian Ambassador to Tirana Interviewed 2
Expresses Views on Student Strike *[NEPSZAVA 12 Dec]* 2
Comments on New Democratic Party *[NEPSZABADSAG 14 Dec]* 3
Justice Minister on Democracy, Authority of Law *[ATA]* 3
Trade Agreement Signed With PRC 17 Dec *[ATA]* 4
Foreign Minister Meets Argentina's Menem 17 Dec *[ATA]* 4
International Red Cross Delegation Pays Visit *[ATA]* 4

BULGARIA

New Cabinet Composition Remains 'Under Question' *[BTA]* 5
Popov Continues Consultations *[BTA]* 5
Progress of Talks Assessed *[BTA]* 6
SDS Discusses Cabinet; Demands Interior Ministry *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Kyuranov on BSP Interest in Interior Ministry *[DUMA 16 Dec]* 6
Military Figure as Defense Minister Suggested *[NARODNA ARMIYA 13 Dec]* 7
New SDS Head Sees Role To Restore Confidence *[OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK 13 Dec]* 7
Party Leaders Discuss New SDS Leader Election 8
Democrats' Leader Savov Comments *[VECHERNI NOVINI 14-15 Dec]* 8
Dertliev Explains Withdrawal From Race *[VECHERNI NOVINI 14-15 Dec]* 9
Kurdzhali Socialists Demand Zhelev Apology *[DUMA 14 Dec]* 9
Entrepreneurs' Union Opposes Business Bloc Party *[BTA]* 9
New Extraparliamentary Party Union Established *[DUMA 14 Dec]* 10
Official Data on Rising Unemployment Published *[Sofia Radio]* 10
Lack of Funds for Gulf Volunteers Lamented *[DIALOG 14 Dec]* 10
Negotiations Held With USSR on New Oil Supply *[DUMA 16 Dec]* 10
Military Delegation Visit to Greece Reported *[BTA]* 11
Austria, Other Countries Send Food, Medicine *[BTA]* 11
Visa Regulations for Balkan Journalists Relaxed *[BTA]* 11
Vietnamese Presence Brings 'Numerous Problems' *[BTA]* 11

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Press Reacts to Havel's 10 Dec Proposals *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 11 Dec, etc.]* 13
Meciar Rejects More Presidential Powers *[PRACE 14 Dec]* 14
Spokesman Notes Havel's Stance on Federal Powers *[CTK]* 15
VPN Slovak Council Stresses Need for Stability *[CTK]* 16
Meciar Reacts to Interview With Calfa *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 12 Dec]* 16
Calfa on Excitement Surrounding Competence Bill *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 11 Dec]* 16
SNS Reacts to Law on Spheres of Competence *[LIDOVE NOVINY 13 Dec]* 17
Federal Government's 13 Dec Session Reported *[Prague Radio]* 17
Federal Service Director Explains Plans *[SMENA 8 Dec]* 18
New Right-Wing Coalition Formed in Prague *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 12 Dec]* 19
People's Party Calls OF Policy 'Hazardous' *[CTK]* 19
Strike Alert Called Off; Metal Workers Dissent *[CTK]* 19

Government Objects to Pipeline Agreement *[SMENA 14 Dec]* 20
New Price Ceilings for Staple Foods Proposed *[RUDE PRAVO 12 Dec]* 20
Government's Economic Development Variants Outlined *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 10 Dec]* 20
Statistician on Prospects for Economy in 1991 *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 10 Dec]* 21
Remainder of Anti-Chemical Warfare Unit Leaves *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 15 Dec]* 22
Vales Interviewed on Moscow Trade Agreement *[Prague Radio]* 22
Preparation for Soviet Emigration Under Way *[CTK]* 22
Minister Visits Controversial Nuclear Power Plant *[CTK]* 23
Urges Contamination Cleanup *[Prague TV]* 23
Dienstbier Says Bohunice Not To Be Closed Down *[Vienna Radio]* 24
British Aerospace Proposes Extensive Investments *[CTK]* 24
Diplomatic Representation of Cuba in U.S. To Stop *[CTK]* 24
Calfa Comments on Trade With Algeria, Gas, Oil *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 11 Dec]* 24
Havel Awarded UNESCO Human Rights Prize *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 11 Dec]* 26
Government Session Views CEMA Standardization *[CTK]* 26
Czech Government Makes Administrative Changes *[SVOBODNE SLOVO 11 Dec]* 26
Entrepreneurs, Tradesmen Party Elect New Chairman *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 11 Dec]* 27
Moravian Parties Propose New Country Arrangement *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 12 Dec]* 27
Moravian National Party Elects Chairman *[Prague Radio]* 27
Constituent Meeting of OF Liberal Club Statement *[LIDOVE NOVINY 14 Dec]* 27
Press Views OF's Policy-Making Meeting *[RUDE PRAVO 11 Dec, etc.]* 28
Pithart Notes Ostrava Economic Tension *[CTK]* 29
Slovak Press Said To Face Bankruptcy Threat *[NARODNA OBRODA 14 Dec]* 29
Havel's Ideas About 'Union Setup' Rejected *[Bombik in NARODNA OBRODA 11 Dec]* 29
Slovakia To 'Tailor' Federal Reform Concept *[NARODNA OBRODA 13 Dec]* 30
Ministry Statement on Unemployment in Slovakia *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 13 Dec]* 30

HUNGARY

French Defense Minister Continues Visit 32
Meets With Antall *[MTI]* 32
Discusses Military Issues With Fur *[Budapest Radio]* 32
Hungarian Germans Back Antall; Make Demands *[Berlin ADN]* 32
'Blanket' Military Agreement Reached With Romania *[MTI]* 32
Federation of Romanians Established in Gyula *[MTI]* 33
Press Agency Agreement Signed With Estonia *[MTI]* 33
Joint Talks Held With IMF on Financial Aid 33
Agreement Seen Within Reach *[MTI]* 33
National Bank Anticipates Loan *[MTI]* 34
Jeszenszky Queried on National Minorities Issue *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 12 Dec]* 34
Industry Minister on Government Changes, Economy *[NEPSZAVA 10 Dec]* 35
FKgP Official Interviewed on Internal Conflicts *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 12 Dec]* 35
FIDESZ Member on Outcome of Party Congress *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 10 Dec]* 36
Environment Minister on Conflicts, Nagymaros *[NEPSZABADSAG 12 Dec]* 37
Government Issues Report on Assets Policy *[Budapest Radio]* 38
Small Businesses Flourishing Nationwide *[MTI]* 41

POLAND

Walesa Seeks To Form 'Government of Experts' *[Warsaw TV]* 42
Olszewski Negotiates New Government *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 15-16 Dec]* 42
Olszewski Abandons Government Formation *[Warsaw TV]* 42
Presidential Insignia To Be Returned 22 Dec *[PAP]* 43
Speaker Comments on Senate's Importance, Future *[PAP]* 43
RSW Liquidator Accepts Bids To Purchase Dailies *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 14 Dec]* 43
Minister Details Plans for Soviet Troop Transit *[PAP]* 45
CSFR Postpones Opening of Joint Border *[PAP]* 45

ROMANIA

Revolution Anniversary Preparations Continue 46
Timisoara Protests Parliament Session *[Bucharest Radio]* 46
Martyrs Association Calls For Peace *[ROMPRES]* 46

2,000 Attend Antigovernment Rally in Timisoara *[ROMPRES]* 46
FSN Headquarters 'Devastated' by Unknown Group *[ROMPRES]* 46
Government, Construction Trade Unions Hold Talks *[ROMPRES]* 46
Timis County Transport Enterprises on Strike *[ROMPRES]* 47
Civic Alliance Asks Iuga To Stop Hunger Strike *[ROMANIA LIBERA 14 Dec]* 47
Iliescu, Civic Alliance Leaders Meet 19 Dec *[Bucharest Radio]* 47
RMDSZ Official on Bucharest Strike Situation *[NEPSZAVA 13 Dec]* 47
PNL's Campeanu Wants National Unity Government *[ROMANIA LIBERA 12 Dec]* 48
Liberals Call for 'National Unity' Cabinet *[ROMPRES]* 49
PNL Leader Issues TV Message on Recent Events *[Bucharest Radio]* 49
Government Spokesman Holds News Conference 49
Refers to Student Strikes *[ROMPRES]* 49
Comments on Coalition Talks *[Bucharest Radio]* 49
Views Importance of Dialogue *[ROMPRES]* 50
Emphasizes Participation *[ROMPRES]* 50
Vatra Romaneasca Wants Constructive Opposition *[Bucharest Radio]* 51
Organizations Warn Against 'Destabilization' *[ROMPRES]* 51
Roman Rejects Accusations of Undemocratic Behavior *[ROMPRES]* 51
Roman, Mayor, Others Discuss Administrative Issues *[ROMPRES]* 52
Deputies' Assembly Resumes Session 18 Dec *[ROMPRES]* 52
Parliament Examines Proposed Law on Land *[ROMPRES]* 52
* Inconsistencies, Defects of Civic Alliance *[ADEVARUL 18 Nov]* 52
* 'Supreme Rationale' for PNT-cd Program *[DREPTATEA 22 Nov]* 54
* Majority Said To Be 'Terrorized' by Minority *[AZI 25 Nov]* 56
* Norms Governing Wage, Pension Increases *[AZI 15 Nov]* 58
Professor Silviu Brucan on Free Market Economy *[ROMPRES]* 59
* National Bank Governor on Monetary Policy *[ADEVARUL 15 Nov]* 59
Court Rejects Andruta Ceausescu's Appeal *[ROMPRES]* 61
* Defense Ministry Communique on CADA *[AZI 24 Nov]* 61
* Defense Ministry's Reaction to CADA Scored *[ROMANIA LIBERA 27 Nov]* 63
Ratiu Accuses U.S. Congressman of Spreading Lies *[ROMPRES]* 64
Trade Cooperation Accord Signed With Poland *[ROMPRES]* 64
Bulgarian President Zhelev Discusses Relations *[ROMPRES]* 65

YUGOSLAVIA

Draft Declaration on Future National System *[TANJUG]* 66
Prepublication of Kadijevic Interview Protested *[DANAS 4 Dec]* 67
Iraq Indicates Loncar 'Welcome at Any Time' *[TANJUG]* 68
Iraq's 'Aziz Receives Outgoing Envoy *[TANJUG]* 68
EC Grants $1.1 Billion Development Loan *[TANJUG]* 69
Tudjman Plans Croatian Representation in Vienna *[Vienna DER STANDARD 19 Dec]* 69
Croatian Law on Possession of Arms Amended *[TANJUG]* 69
Kucan, Peterle, Bucar on Future Setup, Plebiscite *[Ljubljana Radio]* 69
Presidency Deems Slovene Plebiscite Illegal *[TANJUG]* 70
Said Ready To Protect Reform Process *[Belgrade Radio]* 70
Presidency's Views Said Divided *[Ljubljana Radio]* 71
FEC Warns of Possible Consequences *[TANJUG]* 71
Slovene Presidency Responds to Claims *[TANJUG]* 71
Slovene Officials Explain Plebiscite *[TANJUG]* 71
Slovene Ministers React, Comment *[Vienna Radio]* 72
Slovene 'Rescue' Mission to Republics Examined *[Beric in OSLOBODJENJE 15 Dec]* 72
Slovenia's Jansa Interviewed on Army Intentions *[VJESNIK 6 Dec]* 73
Slovene Economic Committee Opposes Draft Budget *[TANJUG]* 74
Macedonia Supports Planned Slovene Referendum *[OSLOBODJENJE 14 Dec]* 74
Tetovo Party Reacts to Macedonian Media Changes *[TANJUG]* 74
Kosovo Leaders Denounce Albanian Demonstrations *[TANJUG]* 75
Federal Court Ruling on Kosovo Poisoning Noted *[TANJUG]* 75
Serb Opposition Holds Election Press Conference *[TANJUG]* 76

2 Arrested for Possession of Grenades, Dynamite

AU1812150990 Tirana International Service in German 1330 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Unattributed report from the "Press Review"]

[Text] The papers inform readers that organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs recently arrested citizens Hysen Bici in Tirana and Gjergj Gjikopulli in the town of Fier. They were in possession of 25 hand grenades and 30 sticks of dynamite with detonators. Preliminary investigations revealed that these explosives were to be used in terrorist acts in Tirana. Other weapons and life-threatening objects such as knives were also confiscated from other persons by the forces of order, so that further acts of violence by the vagabonds could be prevented. The investigative organs are continuing in their work to shed light on and document the criminal behavior of these dangerous elements and their accomplices.

Demonstrators To Be Tried for 'Illegal Acts'

LD1912025690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2305 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, December 18 (TANJUG)—Trials of Albanians suspected of performing "illegal acts" in last week's demonstrations have begun in several Albanian cities, Radio Tirana reported this evening.

In Durres, 62 people are on trial, 55 in Elbasan, and 60 in Shkoder.

The suspects will be tried for acts against property, lives and health, for improper conduct, attacks on organs of authority, illegal rallying, and other offenses.

Radio Tirana said that the accused admit responsibility, repent, and claim that they "should have acted through dialogue, as defined by Albanian law, and as the students had acted in their demands."

Radio Tirana claims that lawyers and defendants are present at the trials and that the defendants are guaranteed the right of appeal.

Refugees Report 'Several Hundred' Casualties

AU1812121890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] A group of Albanian refugees in Lyon claims that several hundred people were killed and hundreds wounded during the recent unrest in Albania. They made this claim on the basis of telephone conversations with their families in the area.

One of the refugees said that his wife, who is still in Tirana, reported that 30 demonstrators were killed and between 200-300 wounded in Elbasan alone.

According to the reports, the regime's forces took some losses as well.

New Parties Register; Religious Revival Held

LD1812222290 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Lukman Halili report from Tirana]

[Text] As we have learned the presidium of the National Assembly of Albania has passed a decision legalizing political parties. The first to approach Albania's justice ministry with the request to be registered as a political party was the Democratic Party of Albania. It seems that two more parties, the Ecology Party and the Agrarian Party of Albania, will operate on the pluralist political scene in Albania.

At today's plenary session the central committee of the youth organization of Albania passed a resolution to the effect that this organisation will no longer be a mere conveyer belt for the Albanian Party of Labor; in the future it will act independently without any ideological hallmarks. There is also evidence of another very interesting development. In the light of the current processes of democratization of life in Albania, and despite legal restraints, there are signs of initial moves towards self-organizing among the believers. For instance, in the city of Shkoder—well known as the center for Albanian Catholic population—daily mass in a chapel in the Catholic Cemetery, celebrated by 65 year-old Father Simon Ljubani, is know to have been attracting as many as 50,000 people. According to Father Ljubani, the mass on 11 November attracted at least 60,000 believers. Once the authorities legalize religion—as they have promised—the Catholic Church will, Father Ljubani said, ask for the return of its cathedral, schools, etc.

Here in Shkoder there are signs of an initiative to set up an Albanian Christian Democratic Party together with the Muslim population of the city. Commenting on recent unrest, Father Ljubani said that this was not necessary since such destructive actions only harm Albanians. Still, Ljubani said, we are convinced that Albanian national identity will remain our main religion.

Green Party Said Founded Illegally Last Month

AU1812111190 Paris AFP in English 1057 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 18 (AFP)—A Green Party was created illegally in Albania last month, prior to President Ramiz Alia's decision to allow the formation of opposition groups, the Yugoslav press said Tuesday. The report said party activists distributed tracts in Tirana Sunday night to let residents know that a Tirana-based Green Party had been set up.

It said the Greens supported the student protest movement last week, but condemned "all destructive behavior and vandalism", according to the report by the Croatian press agency HINA out of Tirana which was quoted Monday in the Zagreb daily, VJESNIK.

Though the student protest at Tirana University urged democratic reforms, some provincial cities were hit by violent looting and demonstrations last week before the army restored control.

The Green Party, an ecologist grouping like its European counterparts, said it planned to register with the Justice Ministry and pledged respect for the constitution and the presidential office, the tract said. Its creation on November 28 came a little more than a week before Mr. Alia's December 11 announcement legalizing the opposition in what is Europe's last hardline communist regime, and allowing them to run in February elections.

The first openly formed opposition party was the Democratic Party, which was created last week and had its first meeting with government leaders Sunday night.

Union of Working Youth Discusses Agenda

AU1812201390 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] A national conference of the Albanian Union of Working Youth was held in Tirana today. It considered the new political situation in the country and determined the youth organization's position in this situation. Delegations from the country's youth aktivs, leaders of youth activities from the districts and military units, and other guests took part in the conference. Lisen Bashkurti, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Union of Working Youth, delivered the main speech on these problems.

The conference unanimously approved the decisions of the 13th party Central Committee plenum, (?which have given fresh inspiration) for the development of democracy in our country. It determinedly and strongly supported Comrade Ramiz Alia, the initiator and direct leader of the process of democratization of the life and progress of the country. In their speeches, the participants unanimously condemned the acts committed recently by dark forces in some districts of the country, and demanded their immediate punishment according to the state laws. Analyzing the new situation, the conference decided that the Albanian Union of Working Youth should stand as an independent social organization which will support progressive political forces that struggle for the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of the country, for the development of democracy, [words indistinct], for the legitimate rights of the Albanian people, and the fulfillment of the needs, desires, and aspirations of the younger generation.

The conference stressed that the Albanian Union of Working Youth is a mass social organization which unites the younger generation, different talents for political organization, and different convictions and beliefs, thereby serving as a powerful factor in the affirmation and unity of the younger generation of Albania.

The commitment of the Albanian Union of Working Youth to the all-around vital interests of young people, solving their social problems, and consolidating and expanding the organization's relations with progressive youth organizations in the Balkans, Europe, and the world was also stressed. The conference decided that the Albanian Union of Working Youth will create organizational structures at the center and the base, and will renew its leading organs and create a commission to review the Statute of the Albanian Union of Working Youth.

The conference also decided to hold the 10th Congress of the Albanian Union of Working Youth before the end of 1991. In conclusion, the youth organization's electoral program and the declaration of the Albanian Union of Working Youth addressed to youth and the entire Albanian people were discussed and approved.

Hungarian Ambassador to Tirana Interviewed

Expresses Views on Student Strike

AU1712151790 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 12 Dec 90 p 2

["(Sz.Cs.)" -signed interview with Ferenc Poka, Hungarian ambassador to Tirana; on the telephone from Tirana on 11 December: "There Is No Berlin Wall in Tirana"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] "Students are still on strike in Tirana; they are boycotting their lectures"—this was the brief news that arrived yesterday. We telephoned Ferenc Poka to receive more information.

[Poka] I would not call the current movement a strike, I would prefer to use a more refined term. Besides, international news agencies often issue exaggerated news from Tirana.

[NEPSZAVA] What is the situation like at the moment, on this late afternoon of 11 December?

[Poka] Calm reigns over Tirana, but given that it is very difficult to predict anything, I would like to stress that this calm can be felt at this very moment, during this telephone conversation. Nevertheless, it can clearly be sensed that there is a slightly larger police force than usual out on the streets, and we have also seen personnel carriers on the streets.

[NEPSZAVA] Is the Hungarian Embassy not threatened by a new influx of refugees?

[Poka] We have taken all the necessary precautions, but it does not look as though there will be an influx of refugees.

[NEPSZAVA] Does the previously erected stone wall still stand in the embassy district?

[Poka] The stone wall still stands, but I would most definitely not call it a new Berlin Wall.

[NEPSZAVA] Has Ramiz Alia spoken to the student leaders yet?

[Poka] So far, no news has emerged about this, but during the course of the day, I have received information from high-placed sources, according to which such a meeting will definitely take place. This would be an unequivocal sign that a democratization process is going on. (The meeting eventually took place on the evening of 11 December.)

[NEPSZAVA] How did Albania react to the Serbian elections held last weekend, given that Albanians in Serbia boycotted these elections? Is there no link between the boycott and the student demonstration?

[Poka] Do not look for any kind of link! In accordance with the Helsinki process, Albanians here empathize with Albanians in Kosovo, and they see a strong and reliable neighbor in a united Yugoslavia; this opinion seems irreversible in Albania.

Comments on New Democratic Party

AU1712152990 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Dec 90 p 1

["(F.O.)" -signed interview with Ferenc Poka, Hungarian ambassador to Tirana; on the telephone from Tirana, date not given: "Breakthrough in Albania"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] Not even a day had passed since the sanctioning of a multiparty system in Albania: On the evening of Wednesday, 12 December, the Democratic Party was founded. Our correspondent telephoned Ferenc Poka, who has been dealing with this small Balkan country for almost two decades.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Is it too soon to assess the meaning of these changes?

[Poka] An historic breakthrough has undoubtedly taken place in Albania, and the transition from one regime to another has begun. Personally, I always thought that Ramiz Alia—the general secretary of the Albanian Workers' Party and the leader of the country—was seriously thinking about modernizing Albania in a calm and democratic way. Nevertheless, no one expected such rapid developments. The day before yesterday, Alia addressed the country on television, and he stressed that the government had decided to initiate changes by taking into account the economic and political situation of the country, and by assessing domestic and foreign failures and successes. The decision of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party clearly states that the creation of independent political organizations serves the purpose of democratic progress.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What information is there about the hastily created Democratic Party?

[Poka] So far, there is little information about this party. According to its first statements, the Democratic Party is fighting for the freedom, independence, and integrity of Albania, and the aim of the party is to create a modern, pluralist Albania by using peaceful, parliamentary means; the party will probably have no problem in officially registering these aims. The declaration of the democrats states that the time has come for Albania to prove that its place is among European nations. Incidentally, the same phrase is mentioned in the new decision of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party, which used to be the only party in the country.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How did the population react to these statements?

[Poka] People were happy, but calm. The several thousand participants who took part in Wednesday's demonstration organized on the university campus were calm. Policemen were merely directing traffic. All this sounds promising, because—given Albania's history—there may well be dangers threatening the country's transition to democracy.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In what way do these changes affect relations between Hungary and Albania?

[Poka] We have worked for good cooperation between Hungary and Albania in the past. Now that Tirana has set off on the road to democracy, Hungary may find a good, useful, and valuable partner in Albania.

Justice Minister on Democracy, Authority of Law

AU1412174890 Tirana ATA in English 1122 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 14 (ATA)—In the message addressed to the Albanian people, Comrade Ramiz Alia made it clear that the creation of independent political organisations in our country is to the benefit of democracy, certainly when they abide by the laws of the juridical state and serve the interests of the homeland, Enver Halili, minister of justice, writes in the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT."

In a genuinely juridical state, every subject, the parties and other political, social organisations and associations, must be submitted to the authority of the law, to observe all its requests. This is indispensable, because every party or other organisation unites round itself separate social groups, whereas the law represents the will of the whole people whose will should be submitted to by all without exception.

The natural aim of any political genuinely democratic party should be the setting up and consolidation of a stable juridical state, as a reliable guarantee for a free, independent and sovereign Albania, whose goal is to safeguard the people's interests. The efforts of the political parties should aim at giving a legal shape to the will of the masses they represent, resorting only to democratic means.

The democratic processes occurring in our country have enlivened the political-social thinking and the activity of all the strata of the people. These processes will certainly have a positive impact on the country's future and this will be also their sole goal, docent [senior lecturer] Aleks

Luarasi, vice-dean of the Faculty of Political and Juridical sciences underlines in his interview.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's message addressed to the Albanian people, backing up and orientating these profound democratic developments, has laid the stress on the democratic means that should be used to attain their goals. Democracy and observation of legislation, the juridical state we want to consolidate, do not exclude, but on the contrary are reciprocally linked with one another.

Trade Agreement Signed With PRC 17 Dec

AU1812155290 Tirana ATA in English 1215 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 18 (ATA)—The protocol on the exchange of goods and payments was signed in Tirana on December 17 between the Government of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the Government of the PR [People's Republic] of China.

The protocol was signed for the Albanian side by Kostandin Hoxha, deputy foreign trade minister, and for the Chinese side by the ambassadress extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PR of China to the PSR of Albania, Gu Maoxuan.

Attending the signing ceremony were also Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade; Gudar Toto, director of department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, as well as the members of the two delegations.

According to the protocol the PSR of Albania will export to China chrome ore and concentrate, copper wires, oil, bitumen, etc., and will import cotton, rice, coffee, mass consumer goods, machineries and equipments, etc.

The delegation was also received by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, with whom views were exchanged on the further development of trade relations and cooperation between the two countries in the economic field.

Foreign Minister Meets Argentina's Menem 17 Dec

AU1812155490 Tirana ATA in English 1222 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 18 (ATA)—Carlos Saul Menem, president of the Republic of Argentina received the minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Reis Malile, in the Presidential Palace on December 17. During the talk conducted on this occasion, the president of Argentina evaluated the visit of the Albanian foreign minister which, he said, "will contribute to the further development of the friendly relations and cooperation between Argentina and Albania." "In spite of geographical distance, Argentina feels as if being near Albania. We understand rightly the processes of democratization, underway in Albania through wisdom under the leadership of President Ramiz Alia," Carlos Menem underlined.

The Albanian Foreign Minister transmitted to the head of the Argentinian state the greetings of the chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Ramiz Alia.

Carlos Menem asked the Albanian foreign minister to convey his warmest and friendly greetings to the chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Ramiz Alia. He wished the Albanian people further successes in the development and progress of the country. In the course of conversation they also spoke on different international problems of mutual interest, particularly on the current situation in Europe and South America, etc.

The reception passed in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

International Red Cross Delegation Pays Visit

AU1812155890 Tirana ATA in English 1015 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 18 (ATA)—At the invitation of the Presidency of the Albanian Red Cross a delegation of the International Red Cross Committee headed by the general delegate of this Commission on Europe and Northern America, Thierry Germond, paid a visit to our country .

In the course of its stay here the delegation was received at separate meetings by the minister of health, Ahmet Kamberi, and the minister of justice, Enver Halili.

At the meetings of the delegation with the chairman of the Presidency of the Central Council of the Albanian Red Cross, Ciril Pistoli, views were exchanged on the intensification of relations and materialization of cooperation between the International Red Cross Committee and the Albanian Red Cross Association .

It also met with representatives of the international law chair of the Faculty of Political and Juridical Sciences.

The delegation visited some districts of the country and got closely acquainted with the activity of the grass root association.

The delegation of the International Red Cross Committee left our country .

New Cabinet Composition Remains 'Under Question'

AU1812200790 Sofia BTA in English 1933 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Dec (BTA)—As yet we cannot say for sure that tomorrow Bulgaria will have a new government, Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], said today. At the regular press conference of the parliamentary faction of the BSP he specified that the Ministry of the Interior is continuing to be the "apple of discord".

The BSP regards the Security Services as a device for balancing the division of power with the opposition, bearing in mind the personality of the president, the proposal for a no-party affiliated prime minister and the possibility that the UDF [Union of Democratic Forces—SDS] will head the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and some of the economic ministries.

According to Mr. Tomov considerable progress has been achieved in the negotiations on the remaining ministries.

It is clear that the opposition will sign the already endorsed agreement between the political forces only if the cabinet issue is solved.

Mr. Aleksandur Tomov did not exclude the possibility that the term for forming a new cabinet by Mr. Dimitur Popov will be extended once again. This term expires tomorrow.

The possibility for a new candidature for the prime minister post has also been included in the field of vision.

The BSP is against the holding of parliamentary elections now because, according to Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, this may throw the country into chaos.

This press conference too was haunted by the ghost of the former Department 6 of the State Security and the files of its informers. The BSP insists that not only the MP's but also the future ministers provide guarantees that they have not been connected with the Secret Services.

Mr. Tomov is convinced that throughout 1989 the Security Services were informed of the activities of the opposition. There are persons who do not have the moral right to be leaders of the opposition. He excluded the possibility that something may remain hidden from the public because "some traces always remain" and those with whom the informers associated are "among us".

The allegation that the BSP stands behind the files scandal was rejected. It is possible that the employees of the former Political Police have made a plot against the BSP because it was the BSP that removed them, Mr. Tomov said.

It was specified that the files issue should only be associated with the files of the informers of Department 6 and not of the other Security Services.

Mr. Aleksandur Tomov commented on the work of the Commission on the BSP Archives. He stressed that it is inquiring into problems related with the activities of the authorities during the Chernobyl accident, with the forceful change of the names of the ethnic Turks, with the system of privileges for the nomenklatura and with the idea for Bulgaria's incorporation into the Soviet Union 30 years ago.

The present leadership of the BSP is coming across serious difficulties stemming from decisions taken in the past, especially on economic issues, taken outside this country and more specifically at the CMEA [CEMA].

For the first time in 46 years the entire archives of the former Communist Party have been opened and placed at the disposal of the judicial authorities.

But Mr. Aleksandur Tomov warned against the making of hasty conclusions about the recent history of the country.

He believes that after the completion of the BSP membership re-registration campaign (its term has been extended till January 30, 1991) the party will have between 350,000 and 400,000 members against one million at the beginning of the year.

About 75 percent of the party's members living in small population centers have re-registered, and in the large centers their percentage ranges between 30 and 40.

Commenting on the BSP's contacts with foreign parties and organizations Mr. Tomov pointed out that the BSP has not applied for membership in the Socialist International but that it supports its latest resolutions in Stockholm. Our policy is not to intrude and to let things take their own course, Mr. Aleksandur Tomov said.

Popov Continues Consultations

AU1812171690 Sofia BTA in English 1654 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Dec (BTA)—We are going to the president without a final decision on the composition of the new government but we have several versions, participants in the 3-hour talks with Mr. Dimitur Popov, who has been assigned to form a new cabinet, told the BTA. Mr. Popov's talks with representatives of the main political forces were followed by consultations at the office of the president which started at 3 p.m. local time [1300 GMT].

What is important is that we are going to these consultations united by the opinion that Mr. Popov must succeed, a representative of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] said. Initially some parties within the UDF disagreed with the formula of a no-party affiliated prime minister. The political forces are inclined to compromise because if Dimitur Popov fails in his attempts to form a new cabinet all predict a parliamentary crisis.

The key controversy is the Ministry of the Interior. Seven or eight versions for the solution of this problem will be discussed with the president. An agreement in principle has been reached on the economic ministries which will be equally distributed between the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and the UDF and headed by "teams of experts". The talks held so far envisaged, as a working variant, that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs be headed by a representative of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party. For the remaining ministries there are several candidatures. But according to participants in the talks, the overall configuration of the government will become clear only after a solution is found to the Interior Ministry problem.

Progress of Talks Assessed

AU1812213890 Sofia BTA in English 2058 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Dec (BTA)—The latest Ministry of the Interior versions did not satisfy any of the parties to the talks, Mr. Filip Dimitrov, the leader of the UDF [Union of Democratic Forces—SDS], told the BTA after the talks at the Presidency. But he added that "there is still room for finding a way out".

The talks will continue late this night and early tomorrow morning.

After the talks at the Presidency both Mr. Dimitur Popov and most of the participants in the talks told the BTA that they hoped Bulgaria will have a new cabinet tomorrow.

But the Interior Ministry controversy has not been solved. Different versions for its solution were discussed once again. The idea that this ministry be headed by a neutral person has not been entirely given up. "There are such people", Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, the BSP's [Bulgarian Socialist Party] second man, said, but declined to mention any names.

If we are to judge from the words of the participants in the talks on the part of the UDF, the UDF is not inclined to accept such a solution. Neutral persons need a balance and counterweights which may make the cabinet immobile. Mr. Filip Dimitrov said.

The "sandwich" solution a minister of one of the two main political forces surrounded by a deputy prime minister and a deputy minister of the other, was finally rejected.

At this afternoon's talks at the Presidency a proposal was put forward for the Ministry of the Interior to be headed by the Bulgarian Agrarian Party. This is not our idea, Mr. Viktor Vulkov, the leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party said. It has to be discussed by the parliamentary faction of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

Some of the participants in the talks did not exclude the possibility that Mr. Popov will present a cabinet without a minister of the interior.

SDS Discusses Cabinet; Demands Interior Ministry

AU1812122890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1200 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] All member organizations of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] categorically demand control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This is what SDS Chairman Filip Dimitrov told a BTA reporter following an extraordinary meeting of the SDS Coordinating Council.

At today's meeting the SDS contact group briefed the Coordinating Council on the results of the political forces' talks which were held on 17 December and went on until 0200 or 0300 in the early hours of 18 December. The mandate of the group was confirmed, but the group was instructed to insist on the demand for the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The option on the so-called sandwich theory is also acceptable, Mr. Dimitrov stated, but not under the form under which it was discussed yesterday.

Another question is that if some kind of guarantees for the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] should be linked to the SDS taking over the Ministry of Interior, we would be ready to provide such guarantees, the SDS chairman told the BTA reporter.

The stand of the SDS could be called an upside down sandwich, which is the opposite alternative of that proposed by the BSP, namely that the minister of internal affairs should belong to the SDS, and a deputy premier from the BSP in charge of the two crucial ministries—the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense—should be appointed. This was explained by Stefan Gaytandzhiev, a deputy of the opposition. He added as follows: Whoever is familiar with the system knows that the minister is everything. Neither a secretary of state, nor a deputy minister, nor even a deputy premier are as powerful as the minister and can accomplish as much, the member of parliament declared to the BTA reporter.

Kyuranov on BSP Interest in Interior Ministry

AU1812181890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 16 Dec 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Chavdar Kyuranov: Dispute About Ministry of Internal affairs Delays Forming New Government"]

[Text] The negotiations on forming the government are slow. They could have been accelerated if a major bone of contention—the Ministry of Internal Affairs—had been eliminated, Chavdar Kyuranov, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council, said yesterday [15 December] during a PANORAMA TV Program interview.

Why does our party insist on having this ministry? There are several approaches to answering this question. For example, where the centers of power in the country are.

They are in the Council of Ministers, the prime minister, and the president. We cannot say that the president of the Republic is indifferent toward one of the political forces—the Union of Democratic Forces. This is also clear against the background of his recent statements. The political forces agreed that the prime minister should be a neutral figure.

Therefore, it is important for the BSP what character the Ministry of Internal Affairs will have. After all, it is a center of power. There are other arguments. The character of this ministry now is different from what used to be. It is not any longer the terrible State Security Service of Zhivkov's time. The changes took place when the ministry was led by our party's people.

According to Chavdar Kyuranov the dispute could be eliminated by seeking a mutually acceptable solution on the basis of certain arguments. However, we know that there are interests behind the arguments. Therefore, it is obvious that we must seek a way of bringing those interests closer together. Otherwise it will be impossible to form a new government. This means seeking other solutions, for example, new elections. This would greatly aggravate the situation of our people under the conditions of a grave economic crisis.

My strong wish is to find a solution to this situation. I say this because recently we have heard many elegant invitation addressed to the BSP, in which the party is urged to withdraw, disappear, and so forth. Things do not happen like this in political life. This issue could be solved only through elections in a democratic society. Let the people decide who should go and who should remain, Chavdar Kyuranov said in conclusion.

Military Figure as Defense Minister Suggested

AU1812121190 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 13 Dec 90 p 1

[Lieutenant General Ivan Stefanov article]

[Text] Every Army is based on certain principles and traditions, formed in the historic development of every nation.

The Bulgarian People's Army is a part of our people and closely related to them. Throughout its history it has experienced many changes and various turns of destiny, but it always found the force to persevere and face the people with a pure heart. Throughout its history it achieved many combat victories and major successes. The epic battles at Shipka, Slivnitsa, Dragomir, Petra, Edirne, and the 1944-45 Fatherland War will remain forever in the hearts of every Bulgarian citizen.

The Bulgarian Army has also experienced failures in its history. It experienced many difficulties, but nevertheless, preserved its purity and the purity of its name. It always was a worthy defender of the motherland.

Now a discussion is conducted around the composition of the Council of Ministers and the future minister of national defense. The idea that has been suggested of appointing a civilian minister evokes puzzlement, to put it mildly, among the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army.

Throughout Army history our Army has always been led by a military figure, a person who has formed his character along the road of military service and development in a military environment. He always was a top professional, capable of leaving his imprint in constructing and developing the Army and in training and educating the soldiers.

The appointment of a civilian minister will disrupt the long tradition and prompt the creation of new structures in the Ministry of National Defense and the Bulgarian People's Army central organs of management. This will significantly decrease the efficiency of their functions and will create difficulties in implementing the Army's basic task—maintaining high combat and mobilization readiness.

The Army is based on the principle of one-man-command. The minister of national defense must be a top professional, familiar with the military art, weapons, equipment, issues of material-technical and rear supply, military life, the soldiers' everyday life, the characteristics of the location of military activities, and many other components, related to maintaining the country's Armed Forces.

It is in the interest of national security and the Army itself to assert and develop, rather than destroy a tradition, which proved its advantages.

New SDS Head Sees Role To Restore Confidence

AU1912110190 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 13 Dec 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Filip Dimitrov, newly elected Union of Democratic Forces Coordinating Council chairman, by Maya Lyubomirska; place and date not given: "Let Us Free Ourselves of Doubts and Restore Confidence"; first four paragraphs are OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK introduction]

[Text] After the election of the new chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] Coordinating Council, we heard the following first comments:

Former Chairman Petur Beron said: "This was the best possible choice."

Petur Dertliev, the strongest competitor before the voting, who withdrew his candidacy said: "I am a rather controversial figure, therefore I cannot serve as a mediator."

Lyuben Bozhilov, spokesman of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] who voted with a white ballot said: "The future attitude of the SDS to our party is the most important thing for us."

The following was the first question of our interview with Filip Dimitrov:

[Lyubomirska] Will you settle the current internal controversies within the SDS?

[Dimitrov] I do not think that one person alone is capable of settling the internal controversies. This can only be accomplished with the support of the entire organization. The SDS is a coalition which is inevitably subject to internal contradictions and disputes.

[Lyubomriska] Did you expect to be elected chairman?

[Dimitrov] After the first round of voting I was already afraid that it might happen.

[Lyubomirska] Your last competitor was Aleksandur Yordanov. What did the results of the vote reveal?

[Dimitrov] I presume that my election was connected with the wish to eliminate frictions between the different member parties of the SDS coalition.

[Lyubomirska] Nevertheless, the Nikola Petkov BZNS did not vote for your.

[Dimitrov] During the last round of voting I raised precisely this question. I was unwilling, and I would not even enter the hall without the support of all major parties, but I accepted the Nikola Petkov BZNS reassurances that the white ballot was not directed against me as a person.

[Lyubomirska] What do you intend to do for the SDS from now on?

[Dimitrov] My difficulties begin now. We should clearly realize what is possible and permissible within the SDS. The principles of tolerance should be respected and no party or group should be permitted to overrule the others. The opposition must strive for the common goal with united efforts.

[Lyubomirska] What is the greatest problem facing the SDS today?

[Dimitrov] The requirement for openness and mutual confidence. Confidence, generally speaking, is a nationwide problem in our country today. It concerns all levels and structures, human relations included. It is by no means easy to achieve mutual confidence.

[Lyubomirska] Some of your members and supporters are members of the Fatherland Union. What is your attitude to an organization, such as the Fatherland Union, which is not affiliated with any party?

[Dimitrov] In my opinion, numerous leaders of the Fatherland Union are too closely connected with the past. There are certain figures, however, who deserve our respect. It would be dangerous if the organization has changed only its name.

[Lyubomirska] You have some experience as deputy chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council. Can you describe your future tasks as chairman?

[Dimitrov] The chairman is not in charge of resolving the problems of the Coordinating Council. He plays the role of a promoter in accelerating the process of adopting constructive decisions. Great skill is required for this task.

[Lyubomriska] Would you describe yourself as a consolidating figure?

[Dimitrov] It would be much too ambitious and pretentious to claim that I am already such a figure, but this is what I am aspiring to.

Party Leaders Discuss New SDS Leader Election

Democrats' Leader Savov Comments

AU1812152290 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 14/15 Dec 90 p 2

[Interview With Democratic Party leader Stefan Savov by Simeon Yankov; place and date not given—"Stefan Savov: Responsibility Is a Matter of Conscience"]

[Text] [Yankov] Mr. Savov, the withdrawal of your candidacy for the post chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] was greeted with surprise by your supporters. What prompted your decision to withdraw?

[Savov] The Democratic Party congress will take place on 15 and 16 December. This event will attract many forces and attention and I could not resolve this matter by myself. I would like to direct my entire attention toward my activity in the Democratic Party. Perhaps I would be elected to the party leadership, and this would not give me the right to engage in any other activity. Generally, at present I am engaged in my party's future more than in anything else.

[Yankov] Are you satisfied with the election of the SDS Coordinating Council chairman?

[Savov] I think that Mr. Filip Dimitrov was a good choice for this responsible post. He has the capabilities to cope with the new situation which is facing Bulgaria's democratic forces. I am satisfied with his election.

[Yankov] Mr. Savov, how do you see the future of the SDS?

[Savov] I firmly support the SDS as a political configuration. After the elimination of the totalitarian system this union will naturally disintegrate. The political views of the parties and movements that form it are too different. In the future, when they independently join the political struggle, those differences will separate them.

[Yankov] Is the Democratic Party rightist?

[Savov] This is correct. Our party has always been a rightist one. However, I would immediately like to point out that our activity takes place within the generally

accepted democratic rules, while strictly observing the rules of parliamentary life. Parliamentary democracy is our political credo, something we shall always adhere to under any circumstances.

Dertliev Explains Withdrawal From Race

AU1812143290 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 14/15 Dec 90 p 2

[Interview with Petur Dertliev, leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, by Boryana Kostova; place and date not given—"Dr. Petur Dertliev: I Needed Total Support"]

[Text] [Kostova] Mr. Dertliev, after the candidacies for the post of chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] were published many people connected their forecast with your name. Yet, your withdrawal from the "competition" for the post remained unexplained....

[Dertliev] I would like to point out that my candidacy was not proposed by my party, or by myself. The proposal came from several groups within the SDS and I refused for several reasons. First, this is an exceptionally difficult task, which would have increased the burden I already have because of my serious engagement in the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party. Nevertheless, I would have accepted the post had my candidacy been unanimously supported. Then my work would have been made easier by the general support. However, other candidacies were proposed and it became clear that my activity as leader of the SDS Coordinating Council would have been accompanied by many differences, and this would have increased my already heavy burden. I assessed that it would be better to elect to this post a younger and calmer person, such as the new leader of the united coalition.

[Kostova] Is this decision of yours related to certain disagreements with the present SDS policy?

[Dertliev] I think that there really are things in the SDS that should be corrected. They are specifically related to the typical Bulgarian quality—to talk much and do little.

Kurdzhali Socialists Demand Zhelev Apology

AU1812155590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 14 Dec 90 p 2

[Radka Petrova report: "If the President Does Not Apologize by 23 December, Kurdzhali's Socialists Will Begin Relay Hunger Strike"]

[Text] Kurdzhali, 13 Dec—If the president does not apologize by 23 December, the Socialists in Kurdzhali will begin a relay hunger strike on Christmas Eve. The demand for the apology is related to the president's statement at the Grand National Assembly on 6 December, in which he denied the right of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] to exist and change. The envisaged relay hunger strike will continue for seven days. People in the municipality support the demand. Until now no political force has expressed its attitude toward the intention to begin the relay hunger strike and the reasons that have prompted it.

The BSP Kurdzhali Municipal Council receives daily dozens of phone calls, in which citizens from Kurdzhali and the country declare that they will participate in the strike, or express their support for the Socialists' demands. A threat was expressed in an anonymous phone call according to which "We shall organize a counterstrike," without specifying who "we" are.

Entrepreneurs' Union Opposes Business Bloc Party

AU1812203990 Sofia BTA in English 1957 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Dec (BTA)—"The Union of Private Entrepreneurs inspired the creation of the Bulgarian Business Bloc but now it is distancing itself from the rightist bourgeois party set up last week", a representative of the union said at a press conference.

"The initial idea to set up a rightist elite political formation has not been realized", said Mr. Anton Nikolov, vice president of the union. In the conditions of inflation and stagnation most parties turn populist, making great and unrealistic promises to the socially weak. Unlike them, the Bulgarian Business Bloc offers a different economic model but the populist trend got the upper hand at its constituent assembly as well. The adopted statute does not satisfy the union. For instance, the paragraph saying that only those who have earned their fortunes honestly and can prove this can become members of the Business Bloc has been dropped out.

The Union of Private Entrepreneurs has not given up its initial idea and is considering the setting up a new political party but it does not wish to commit itself to prognostications and terms. In implementation of an idea of one of the union's founders a special elite club will be set up in January with the purpose of attracting the nation's intellectual potential after the model of the Rotary Club.

The urgent need for adopting a foreign investments act was also pointed out at the press conference. The parliament adopted recently amendments to the Decree on Economic Activity (which was aimed at the liberalization of the centralized economy and has been operating since the beginning of 1989), but these amendments only encourage foreign investments without providing any guarantees. Unlike the programs of the main political forces, oriented towards the granting of new credits, the Union of Private Entrepreneurs is working for the establishment of favourable economic conditions that will attract foreign investors to Bulgaria, who will bring not only their capital but also knowledge.

New Extraparliamentary Party Union Established

AU1812155790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 14 Dec 90 p 1

[Boryana Gencheva report: "Twelve Parties and Eight Movements Established New Extraparliamentary Union"]

[Text] A National Coalition of Extraparliamentary Political forces has been established. The Bulgarian Republican Party, led by Professor Aleksandur Popov has signed first the agreement. The coalition consists of 12 parties and eight movements (including the Friends of Countries in Which French, English, and Other Languages Are Spoken). This was announced on 13 December at a news conference. This is the second union of parties outside the Grand National Assembly.

The coalition demands the immediate convocation of a national roundtable with the participation of all political forces, with a view to resolving the crisis. It supports the establishment of a provisional coalition government with the broad participation of forces represented in the Grand National Assembly and outside the parliament. However, in principle, the coalition supports a rightist-centrist leadership. "The crisis will be a cruel one, therefore, the most capable people should be at the top," representatives of the new coalition say. According to them, the Grand National Assembly should dissolve itself. However, after a two-hour talk with Mr. Dimitur Popov on Wednesday [12 December], they agreed that first the municipal elections should take place.

Official Data on Rising Unemployment Published

AU1812213590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Rapidly increasing unemployment and the sharply decreasing number of jobs—those two tendencies will exacerbate the unemployment problem in our country already at the beginning of next year. This is the opinion of Goran Goranov, director general of the National Bureau on Employment.

He announced that according to official data by 10 December some 62,824 people have registered as unemployed. Some 17.2 percent of them have a higher education. Most unemployed have registered in Plovdiv Oblast—13,312; Sofia Oblast—10,935; and Sofia City—8,971.

The analysis of data received by 30 November shows that 66.3 percent of the unemployed are women, while 46.3 percent are young people up to 30 years of age.

Most of the unemployed are workers. They are followed by people with higher education, semi-higher education, and specialized high school education.

On the basis of Decree No. 57 of the Council of Ministers of 1989: From the beginning of 1990 until the end of November 1990 the Labor Bureaus have paid 30,486 unemployed people aid and compensation to the tune of 17,147,775 leva. This has been paid out of the Professional Qualification and Requalification Fund.

Lack of Funds for Gulf Volunteers Lamented

AU1812143490 Sofia DIALOG (MLADEZH SUPPLEMENT) in Bulgarian 14 Dec 90 p 5

[Dimitur Dzhenev report: "Many Volunteers—No Money!"]

[Text] Almost $4.3 million are necessary for training, transporting, and maintaining the Bulgarian military contingent in the Persian Gulf, and all this for one month only. At the Press Center of the Ministry of National Defense I understood that for the time being we do not have a single penny, and that nobody has invited us so far to go to Saudi Arabia.

Otherwise, our military is working in several directions:

—Studying the special characteristics of the contingent's activity under desert conditions;
—Training the volunteers and preparing the equipment;
—Providing the necessary equipment for implementing the combat tasks in the desert.

It is difficult to speak about providing everything that is necessary, because then our soldiers should have thermoses with Coca Cola rather than canteens, modular Swedish hospitals (which cost $1 million each), rather than our field type hospitals mounted on ZIL trucks, and hermetically closed air conditioned tents, rather than the regular field open tents we have. We should add that we also must provide water, which should be transported every week by vessels or aircraft of a near-by country.

Unlike the Czechs and the Poles, who sacrificed millions and organized their contingents, we appear to be reluctant. We simply do not have any money. For the time being a commander of our military contingent has been appointed. This is Colonel Stefan Dimitrov, candidate of military science. That is all.

Negotiations Held With USSR on New Oil Supply

AU1812182890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 16 Dec 90 p 2

[Tsanko Raychev untitled report]

[Text] According to Gancho Nedelchev, general director of Neftokhim in Burgas, negotiations are being conducted with the USSR on the supply of about five million tonnes of oil. However, a final agreement has not been signed yet. Other possibilities of acquiring oil are being sought. Agreements on foreign currency credits from abroad have been reached. However, the processing of the oil will be limited until the Bulgarian lev becomes convertivible. At present, the sale of a part of the oil products in the country brings no foreign currency gains to the company.

Depriving the drivers of gasoline for five days is a one-sided administrative decision, which will not contribute to solving the issue in a lasting manner.

Military Delegation Visit to Greece Reported

AU1712223290 Sofia BTA in English 2054 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Athens, 17 Dec (BTA)—Colonel General Radnyu Minchev, first deputy minister of defense and head of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, was received today by Greece's Minister of Defense Ioannis Varvitsiotis. The two sides discussed matters of mutual interest and pointed out the stabilizing role of the friendly Bulgaro-Greek relations in the Balkans.

The military delegations of Greece and Bulgaria headed by the heads of staff of the armies of the two countries, Colonel General Radnyu Minchev and Colonel General Ioannis Verivakis, had talks today.

When yesterday he visited Thessaloniki, Colonel General Radnyu Minchev was received by Mr. Yeoryios Tzitzikostas, minister of Macedonia and Thracia. The Bulgarian delegation who will be in Greece until December 20, was given the opportunity of visiting some military units in Greece.

Austria, Other Countries Send Food, Medicine

AU1912094290 Sofia BTA in English 0822 GMT 19 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 19 Dec (BTA)—Two Austrian lorries carrying 44 tons of food and medicines are on their way to Bulgaria. This aid, which amounts to 600,000 Austrian schillings, has been organized and financed by the Austrian Red Cross. It has been earmarked for the children's establishments in the Sofia region and it will be distributed with the assistance of the Bulgarian Red Cross.

This aid of the Austrian Red Cross has marked the beginning of an initiative for helping the Bulgarian population through the winter. In the next few months Bulgaria will receive humanitarian aid for old-age homes, hospitals and health establishments.

The Swiss mass media have reported that "Balkan" planes will start the transportation of 50 tons of foods for Bulgaria on Thursday [20 December]. Trucks carrying 130 tons of canned vegetables, wheat and other foodstuffs, collected by various Swiss organizations, will start for Bulgaria immediately after the Christmas holidays.

The Netherlands have sent 2.5 tons of babyfood and clothes by Balkan planes. The "Bulgaria-Netherlands" Friendship Society is ready to provide considerable quantities of foodstuffs but it has raised some questions concerning their transportation, delivery and distribution.

It has been announced that the Council of Ministers of Cyprus has assigned the Ministry of Trade to send foodstuffs to Bulgaria.

Visa Regulations for Balkan Journalists Relaxed

AU1812171990 Sofia BTA in English 1557 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Dec (BTA)—As of today, Bulgaria unilaterally relaxes the visa regulations for journalists of the Balkan states visiting this country by introducing a 48-hour time limit for the issuing of entrance visas. This step is a part of the initiatives of the Bulgarian side, presented at the meeting of experts of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries on issues of cultural and humanitarian cooperation and the mass media which opened here today.

Bulgaria proposed that the Balkan countries consider the restoration of the Union of Balkan Journalists, the institution of an annual award for the best article on a Balkan topic and the establishment of new correspondents' offices in all Balkan capitals. She also proposed that the possibilities for the establishment of a cultural and informational TV program to be received in all Balkan countries be studied.

The Balkan countries have already accumulated experience in the organization of sports contests and in cooperation in the field of health care. The Unions of Balkan Mathematicians and of Balkan Physicists are already a fact. The conference of the rectors of the Universities of the Balkan Countries has an eight-year old history.

The Bulgarian side is of the opinion that the contents of the textbooks in history and geography is of considerable importance for the objective presentation of the facts and for the education of schoolchildren in the spirit of understanding and respect for the history, culture and customs of the Balkan peoples. It expressed support for the bilateral groups of experts working in this field.

Bulgaria will take part in the Balkan festival of arts proposed by Turkey as well as in a colloquium on common problems of culture to be held on a rotational basis.

Vietnamese Presence Brings 'Numerous Problems'

AU1912094790 Sofia BTA in English 2150 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Dec (BTA)—Many of the 15,500 Vietnamese citizens working in Bulgaria have been unemployed for two or three months. Some were laid off and the contracts of others have already expired. But they cannot leave Bulgaria because there are not sufficient flights to Hanoi. The forced stay of the Vietnamese citizens in Bulgaria, whom the Bulgarians regard with overt resentment, is increasing social tension.

Mr. Bui Dang Kuang, chief of the "Employment" Department with the Vietnamese Embassy in Sofia, gave a special press conference on these problems.

Vietnamese presence in Bulgaria has given rise to numerous problems. The Vietnamese hostels in Sofia and in other large cities have turned into free economic

zones sui generis. All kinds of trade is being carried on there. There are cases of rape and assault and many scandals. Prostitution is growing.

According to Mr. Kuang, the intergovernmental agreement between Sofia and Hanoi is still in force. An agreement was reached in may for ceasing the arrival of Vietnamese workers to Bulgaria and for reducing the contracts of those already working here from 5 to 3 years so that by 1992 all Vietnamese workers leave Bulgaria.

But their departure has proved to be an insoluble problem. And at present 3,000 Vietnamese citizens have completed their contracts.

The Vietnamese side has declared its desire for new negotiations with the Bulgarian side for seeking possibilities for the transportation of the Vietnamese workers.

At the press conference the incident of December 11, when a Bulgarian policeman was attacked and beaten at the Vietnamese hostel, was widely commented upon. Today witnesses accused the policeman of theft, corruption and incorrect behavior. Vietnamese workers and students spoke of examples of brutal and illegal, according to them, behavior of Bulgarian policemen. They also said that the cases of assaults made by young Bulgarians on Vietnamese citizens have increased.

In an address to President Zhelev the Vietnamese workers and students ask for his assistance for a "quick and safe departure of the Vietnamese workers from Bulgaria".

During the totalitarian rule of the Communist Party Vietnamese workers were received to work in Bulgaria as a form of "international aid". But in their enormous majority the "guest workers" proved incapable of working and extremely talented for all kinds of crime.

Press Reacts to Havel's 10 Dec Proposals

AU1712102190

[Editorial Report] Czech and Slovak newspapers on 11 and 12 December publish 300 to 700-word commentaries on President Vaclav Havel's 10 December speech in parliament and the proposals he made there. While the reaction of the Czech press ranges between clear support ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY and the expression of some doubts MLADA FRONTA DNES, RUDE PRAVO, the Slovak papers all criticize Havel's speech.

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 11 December on page 1 carries a 500-word Petr Novacek commentary entitled "A Clear Word From the Head of State." Novacek regards Havel's 10 December speech as "one of the most important" of his Presidency. "Though generally known for his generous approach to the specificities of Slovak political life, this time the president let it be known, politely but clearly, that everything has its limits." According to Novacek, the president "made it clear that he regards as unacceptable the line taken by a part of the Slovak political representation, particularly Prime Minister Meciar." He believes that, after Havel's speech, the Slovak prime minister has only two alternatives: "either to upgrade his struggle for Slovakia's sovereignty to a break away from the federation, which 70 percent of Slovaks do not want according to the latest opinion poll, or admit that he failed as a politician and resigned his post." Referring to the three proposals made by the president in his speech (the establishment of a constitutional court, introduction of referendums into the political system, and extension of presidential powers), Novacek says that they demonstrate that "in the most difficult moment of our country since the revolution, President Havel proved to be a wise and resolute politician." Although the author concedes that the last of the proposals "does our democracy no credit," he is convinced that it is a "lesser evil than sitting with one's arms folded and watching the Czechoslovak state fall apart."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 11 December on page 1 carries a 600-word Frantisek Melis commentary entitled "Why Is He Blaming Slovaks?" Melis expresses understanding for the dramatic nature of Havel's speech, as it was motivated by his concern for the preservation of the federal state. He continues: "What is hard to understand, however, is that he unambiguously blamed Slovak politicians led by Prime Minister Meciar for the threat of a crisis. In other words, even the president did not steer clear of criticism of the 'disobedient' Slovaks who had the guts to defy omnipotent, centralistic, Czechoslovakist Prague." This criticism is unfair, in Melis' opinion, because "the Slovaks demand only what they are entitled to and are not willing to make concessions anymore."

Commenting on Havel's specific proposals, Melis wonders why "the president did not raise the demand for the establishment of a constitutional court prior to the adoption of the clearly anti-constitutional law on the nationalization of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia assets"; why, in his speeches in the past, he so vehemently opposed the instrument of a referendum on the ground that it would cost too much money; and why he is asking for the augmentation of presidential powers when one year ago it seemed to him that the Czechoslovak president had too many powers. Melis believes that "by the urgency of his demands, the president essentially gave the parliament an ultimatum" and, hence, his conduct did not differ from that of the Slovak Government, whose ultimatum to the parliament Havel criticized.

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 11 December on pages 1 and 2 carries a 700-word Robert Kotian commentary entitled "Powers for the President?" Kotian says that Havel's speech "confirmed the asymmetry in the Castle's way of thinking and assessments." The "basic flaw of Havel's premise," according to Kotian, was that he presented the law on the division of powers "as though it were a Slovak invention" and not the outcome of talks between the Czech, Slovak, and federal governments. While Kotian does not object to Havel's proposals concerning the constitutional court and the referendum, he expresses doubts about the extension of presidential powers: "Unlike V. Havel, I am not all that convinced that he has no desire to increase his personal power. Moreover, history furnishes a number of examples showing how power corrupts. And, in general, would the adoption of the law on the division of powers not be a sufficient guarantee obviating the need to increase the president's powers? The prospects of Czechoslovakia as a federal republic would benefit more if the deputies pondered in a genuine and intelligent manner the wording and the meaning of the law on the division of powers than if they start to contemplate new powers for the president."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 12 December, in its "Monitor" rubric on page 13, carries a 200-word excerpt from a commentary on Havel's speech published by the 11 December issue of SLOVENSKY DENNIK, daily of the Christian Democratic Movement. In the excerpt quoted by NARODNA OBRODA, SLOVENSKY DENNIK criticizes Havel for blaming the Slovaks for the threat of the federation's collapse. In the opinion of the daily "it is not the Slovak but the Czech political representation which imprudently puts at risk the further fate of Czechoslovakia by putting its own political and economic interests above the natural endeavor of Czechs and Slovaks to live in a common, truly democratic, rule-of-law state, and economically strong political state."

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 12 December on page 2 carries a 700-word Petr Sabata commentary entitled "The President Wants More." While Sabata sees Havel's proposals concerning the constitutional court and the referendum as an "adequate reaction" to the threat of a constitutional crisis in the country, the demand for greater powers seems to him "inadequate." He points out until now the president has applied above all his moral and natural authority

without making use even of the presidential powers fixed in the existing Constitution, "such as the right to attend and chair Federal Government sessions, the right to attend Federal Assembly chamber sessions and to address the parliament at any time, to say nothing of the right to disband the Federal Assembly in case of failure of the arbitration proceedings between the chambers." Only if Havel applied all these possibilities that are open to him and still felt that he is lacking in powers would it have been appropriate, according to Sabata, to request the widening of presidential powers.

Sabata believes that the parliament will be reluctant to allow the concentration of too much power in the president's hands, all the more so as the extension of presidential powers would mean the curtailment of the parliament's own powers. He adds, however, that it is premature to make "far-reaching conclusions" from Havel's proposals as the specific new powers proposed for the president are not known.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 12 December on page 1 carries a 300-word Dalibor Macha commentary entitled "Medication Should Be Administered With Caution." Speaking about Havel's proposal for extension of presidential powers, Macha observes that the parliamentarians responded to it with "embarrassed silence." He believes that this is because the parliament is "sensitive" to any attempts at curbing its powers, even temporarily.

Havel's proposal also "raises the question of whether [special] presidential powers would not upset the constitutional balance," according to Macha. Pointing to the "mostly negative response from Slovakia" to Havel's proposal, Macha believes that the Slovak political representation is not likely to comply with Havel's request.

Macha concludes his commentary by saying: "The organism of the federation is ill. In administering medication, however, one should make use of the chemist's sensitive scales. One could otherwise see not only adverse effects putting off the healing process but the organism could reject the medication outright."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 12 December on page 3 carries a 600-word Stefan Hrcka commentary entitled "Is It Like This, Or Like That?" Hrcka juxtaposes President Havel's 10 December remarks on the presidency with his speech to parliament on 29 June 1990 when he expressed the opinion that the powers of the Czechoslovak president provided for in the current Constitution are too extensive and should be limited. Hrcka wonders what caused the president's "sudden enlightenment."

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 13 December, in its "We Have Selected From the Slovak Press" column on page 3, carries a 250-word excerpt from a 12 December SLOVENSKY DENNIK commentary on Havel's speech. In this excerpt, the Slovak Christian Democratic daily criticizes the president for having gone "beyond the framework of nonpartisan attitudes" and for having "influenced the deputies before the debate on the power-sharing bill." It continues: "Though the president did not say directly who threatens the country from inside, it is clear from his criticism of the Slovak prime minister and 'some Slovak politicians' that it is the Slovaks who intend to disrupt the state.... The present situation of our state is a picture of the president's policy, which is being criticized not only in Slovakia but also in Bohemia. From the very beginning, the Castle has been trying to interfere in the powers of all governments and now also the parliament. If something goes contrary to its ideas, the threat of monarchy, fascism, and even disintegration of the state is immediately foisted upon the public."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on page 3 carries a 250-word Gabriel Sajdak commentary entitled "Good Advice Is More Precious Than Gold." Sajdak says that "those who expected a constructive approach from the president and a profound analysis of the essence of the 'federal' crisis were disappointed" by his 10 December speech. He expresses the opinion that, this time, the president's advisers did not advise him well.

Meciar Rejects More Presidential Powers

AU1912125190 Prague PRACE in Czech 14 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Renata Havranova and Mikolas Cerny; in Bratislava, date not given: "I Do Not Intend To Cause Ripples on the Political Pond"—first paragraph is PRACE introduction]

[Text] At the end of last week the public was, to say the least, perturbed by the speech delivered by the Czechoslovak prime minister and by the address made by Vaclav Havel in parliament. As we were told by several government officials in Bratislava, everything was not as it seemed. For example, Vladimir Meciar—apparently—did not make a statement on the sovereignty of Slovak National Council laws over federal laws. Therefore, we asked the Slovak prime minister to return to this critical period.

[Meciar] Do I have any right at all to tip the scales to one side or the other? I do not think so. I spoke about my statement in parliament and I would only cause more ripples on the Czech Republic political pond by expanding on this problem. I do not want to do this. In the interest of our further cooperation, I would like to abstain from commenting on this issue until I am convinced that I can in no way influence political life, but—on the contrary—can without emotion help to realistically clarify events.

[PRACE] How do you view the Federal Government's current jurisdiction?

[Meciar] My view is different from the public's view. We have defined precisely what we want and what should be within the jurisdiction of republican organs, but the

public is unaware of what remains within the jurisdiction of the federation. It is important that the republics want a new quality of behavior from the Federal Government. The federation's position has strengthened significantly in the legislation sphere. As far as executive authority is concerned, only those functions which for a long time have not belonged here and which today would be counter to the market mechanism have been detached from the federation. However, we did not cover everything that has a bearing in a democratically organized society. I would not like this drama to be repeated while preparing the Constitution and I would not like a situation to arise when, on account of ambiguities in political ideas and views and of not observing the subordination of some party or political views to nationwide interests, the stability of the state is again threatened or cast in doubt.

[PRACE] Can you tell us your opinion of the proposal to expand the president's powers?

[Meciar] If the president requests that his powers be expanded, I consider this to be a step by which he would literally make a self-sacrifice. He would literally take on any crisis which arises in parliament or the Federal Government. If such powers are to be entrusted to him, the question of trust or mistrust in him does not arise, but the question of the means which the president—during the execution of these powers—has in his hands would arise. I would not be pleased if such powers had to be implemented; I do not want there to be a situation in which such a course of action would be demanded. Moreover, the means which the president could use would run counter to each other. I consider the political outcome to be insufficiently clear and, therefore, as a Federal Assembly deputy I will vote against approving these powers.

[PRACE] May we ask one personal question? We often hear criticism about Czech journalists claiming that they are not always correct regarding Slovak political representatives. What is your view of some of the commentaries by our Slovak colleagues? We have met with many here whom we think are also not completely fair.

[Meciar] Why do you want a politician to make a decision on evaluating the mass communication media. I have unequivocally expressed my views about commentaries in some Czech newspapers on television. They call themselves Czechoslovak newspapers, but they do not always behave as such. I do not have the right to make the final judgment. I remember the journalists' meeting in Harmonia where they said what they will do to bring about rapprochement among people. Try and think for yourselves who is fulfilling this aim and who is betraying it and how. I am doing everything to ensure that a law is adopted which will guarantee journalists the right to acquire information and to publish it. They must bear the responsibility for incorrect information. This is one way of guaranteeing the reliability of information and of protecting citizens from lies. If this law were in force, the lawyer I would employ to represent me would make a lot of money which could be donated to children's funds. This is my reply to those journalists who confuse information with misinformation. It is also necessary to take one fact into consideration. A third class chef does not make first class soup. This does not only apply to journalists.

Spokesman Notes Havel's Stance on Federal Powers

LD1712160190 Prague CTK in English 1519 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 17 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Presidential spokesman Michael Zantovskiy spoke here today in favour of international consultations and a coordinated all-European solution to the expected influx of Soviet emigrants to Czechoslovakia and other European countries after the Soviet Union opens its borders.

At a briefing for journalists Zantovsky gave hints of the kinds of powers which President Vaclav Havel demanded in his speech in the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) last Monday and which should fill a constitutional and legal vacuum in the settlement of grave political situations in the country. "The principal powers will be similar to a great extent to those which presidents in other countries usually exercise, i.e. to express opinion on the legislative process, have influence on calling sessions of parliament and its dissolution under certain clearly defined conditions. Namely these powers will be under discussion," Zantovskiy said, pointing out that their approval is solely within the authority of the parliament.

The Czechoslovak president's spokesman reacted positively to the foundation of the Civic Forum Liberal Group last week, two months after the interparliamentary group of the Democratic Right Wing was formed by deputies of the federal and Czech parliaments. He said that Havel had already stressed the need for differentiation in opinions within the Civic Forum. "At this point in time he (Havel) does not consider it appropriate to express his preferences," Zantovsky said in reply to the question which of the Civic Forum's streams is closer to Havel.

He spoke about Havel's stand on efforts to change the Civic Forum into a political party (this tendency is represented mainly by Civic Forum chairman Vaclav Klaus). He said that Havel had long ago supposed the Civic Forum had been developing in this direction. A Civic Forum congress, due in January 1991, is to decide about what kind of party it will be, what will be conditions for membership, etc.

Public Against Violence (VPN) have shown interest in a meeting with Havel this week. No date and venue of the meeting have yet been set, however, Zantovskiy said. In the past two weeks conflicts appeared between the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence in connection with discussions on the division of powers between the Federal, Czech and Slovak governments in which these

two movements, the winners of the June 8-9 parliamentary elections, hold the most important posts.

VPN Slovak Council Stresses Need for Stability

LD1612195190 Prague CTK in English 1912 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Bratislava Dec 16 (CTK)—Participants in today's session of the Public Against Violence [VPN] Slovak Council stressed that the preservation of stability of the political scene and governments is a political priority.

The adoption of the power-sharing law by the Federal Assembly (parliament) is a fulfillment of the program of the VPN movement, they said and pointed out the realization of the economic reform.

Participants in the session were briefed by Chairman of the Slovak Council of the VPN Fedor Gal that Civic Forum Chairman Vaclav Klaus voiced support for the holding of a summit meeting of the coalition partners on a federal level, attended by representatives of the governments, parliaments and President Vaclav Havel as soon as possible. The date and place of the meeting should be announced in the forthcoming days after consultations with the president.

Meciar Reacts to Interview With Calfa

AU1812120390 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Dec 90 p 1

[Interview with Slovak Republic Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Jan Bauer; in the Federal Assembly building in Prague on 11 December: "Will the Federation Survive the Year 2000?"—first paragraph is ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] There is no doubt that Slovak Government Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar was the most frequently photographed person in the Federal Assembly yesterday. I made it through a bunch of photographers and asked the prime minister the following question:

[Bauer] Federal Prime Minister Calfa told us that the tense situation had been caused by your statement on Friday. Would you like to say something on this subject?

[Meciar] Oh, please, do not trouble me with this bullshit. Prime Minister Calfa told you things that are not true.

[Bauer] They say that you demand the resignation of Calfa, Dlouhy, and Klaus from the Federal Government. Is that right?

[Meciar] I have never said anything like that. I have only demanded a change in their behavior. You, here in Bohemia, write a lot of things that are completely false and which do not correspond to what I have said. LIDOVE NOVINY and OBCANSKY DENIK are particularly expert at this. When reading these papers, I am astonished to learn what I have said.

[Bauer] With what feelings have you arrived to Prague today?

[Meciar] My feelings are unimportant. What the government could do, it did. The rest is a up to parliament to freely consider all the circumstances and to make a decision.

[Bauer] Do I have it right that you agree with the comments made by the Czech National Council and the committees of the Federal Assembly chambers on the subject of the competence bill?

[Meciar] You are putting words in my mouth that I have not said.

[Bauer] No, I am not. I am asking.

[Meciar] You see, those are the things that cause political complications, because you spread your fantasies and write rubbish in your papers.

Calfa on Excitement Surrounding Competence Bill

AU1712120590 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 11 Dec 90 p 1

[Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by Jan Bauer; in Prague on 10 December: "With the Federal Prime Minister on the Ado About the Power-Sharing Bill; It Was Caused by a Single Utterance"; first paragraph is ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] During the intermission in yesterday's ninth joint session of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations, we asked Marian Calfa, prime minister of the Federal Government for an interview.

[Bauer] Why is there so much ado about the bill on competence of the Federal Government and the republic governments?

[Calfa] The bill was first discussed in the Slovak National Council, then it was debated in the Czech National Council and approximately four minor changes were proposed. After that the bill was passed on to be discussed in the Federal Assembly committees. It was here that some comments inspired the impression in Slovakia that the bill would not fare well. On Friday [7 December], a session of the Federal Assembly Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committees took place with Slovak Government representatives attending. All changes were considered and a general proposal was produced which, of course, differed from the original version submitted by the Slovak National Council. At the same time, it was not disparate in principle. Both Slovak deputy prime ministers agreed to the changes and thought the meeting positive. However, apparently some "noise in the channel" resulted in distorted reception because after the session of the Slovak Government and the Slovak National Council Presidium, which also took place on Friday, opinions were voiced, later articulated by Mr. Meciar in his memorable radio and television appearance. When, in the evening, at the Public Against

Violence [VPN] movement Ministerial Club session, I explained that the bill was under preparation and that an agreement had been reached, it caused a great surprise. The impression generally accepted in Slovakia was that striking the bill off the agenda in Prague is organized in Prague.

[Bauer] What could have been the cause of this "noise in the channel" resulting in distorted information?

[Calfa] It was probably the existence of a group of Federal Assembly deputies who are not interested in dealing with this bill because they believe in the strong federation and are against delegating powers. In my view, that would be the worst alternative.

[Bauer] What did the Slovak prime minister, Mr. Meciar, want?

[Calfa] You will have to ask him. Mr. Meciar simply is the way he is. At the same time, his standpoint is not that of the VPN movement. Mr. Gal told me that we, in Prague, draw far-reaching conclusions from the views of a single person while, in reality, it was the position of neither the government nor the Slovak National Council or the VPN movement. Similarly, Mr. Miklosko, Slovak National Council chairman, told me that not a word was said at Friday's Slovak Government and Slovak National Council Presidium session in the spirit in which Mr. Meciar addressed the media.

[Bauer] Are you being accused of anything in Slovakia?

[Calfa] They can reproach me for not doing enough for Slovakia, while here, in Prague, I can be reproached for not doing enough for Bohemia. However, a federal prime minister is not a republic prime minister. I am here to seek balance and not as an ambassador of one of the republics. The decisive factor for me is the standpoint of the Federal Assembly and of the president of the republic.

[Bauer] Have you discussed the outstanding problems with Mr. Meciar?

[Calfa] I have spoken with him many times but do you have any idea how many agreements we entered into which were invalidated immediately thereafter? There simply is no sense in it. And frankly, I do not even feel like talking to a person who uses the air waves to claim that I have gone beyond the limits set by the VPN movement policy and that the problem of my person should be dealt with in the VPN Council. Besides, the statutes of the VPN Council do not even contain any provisions on dealing with such issues. I am responsible to somebody else.

[Bauer] So all this excitement arose from a single utterance by Mr. Meciar?

[Calfa] Yes, one could say that.

SNS Reacts to Law on Spheres of Competence

AU1812120790 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 13 Dec 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "On the Road of Compromises?"]

[Text] Bratislava— "The manner in which the law on the spheres of competence was discussed and passed in the Federal Assembly has convinced us once again that the existing constitutional arrangement of the relations between the Czechs and Slovaks is no longer sustainable," reacts the Slovak National Party [SNS] to the approval of the law on the spheres of competence in parliament. In its declaration, the party stresses that the federal organs do not defend, and do not want to defend, the interests of both nations, but only the interests of the Czech nation. The adoption of the law under the pressure exerted by the president, and the law itself, lead, in their consequences, to an even deeper alienation of the two nations. "While the nations of Eastern Europe are extricating themselves politically and economically from the antiquated national oppression, Slovakia is tying itself to those undemocratic forms of the Prague centralism which cause serious damages to the Slovak nation," the declaration states further. According to the declaration made by the SNS, not only the centralist federal bureaucrats, but also the Slovak political representatives who embarked on the road of compromises, will be responsible for these damages.

Federal Government's 13 Dec Session Reported

LD1412060690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Oldrich Sestak and Miroslav Dittrich report]

[Excerpts] [Sestak] Among very important points on the agenda of today's deliberations was the adoption of the bill on adjusting landownership relations, which has been expected by farmers and all landowners for a long time. The law puts the right of ownership above the right of use and deals also with the issue of restitution. As Federal Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy told us at a news conference following the government's session, the law on this issue is very close to the restitution law but goes as far back as the revision of the first land reform of 1947. According to the law, citizens will be given their land free of charge providing it was taken from them unjustly. In the case that the land cannot be returned to them, the law envisages a transfer of other land plots free of charge. The land today owned by the state will be administered through land funds set up by national republics. They will have the same status as the funds of national assets. It will depend, above all, on them for which purpose the land is going to be sold or rented. The law does not allow the sale of land to foreign nationals.

This bill, contrary to the second draft prepared by an initiative group of federal assembly deputies, does not tackle the issue of dividing the assets of existing cooperatives and leaves it to their members to decide. [passage omitted]

[Dittrich] Federal Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky also attended the news conference and announced that the government had expressed its approval of the proposals on the constitutional laws on an all-state referendum and constitutional court, which were presented to the Federal Assembly by Vaclav Havel. He said that the two proposals were a step toward widening democracy. Organizing a referendum is very costly; it would cost about 1 billion forunas and, therefore, to put it briefly, the proposal envisages such legal provisions that a referendum could take place only in such extreme situations, when there is a need to assess the will of the nation. The constitutional court would fulfill the following four fundamental roles: general principal protection of the Constitution, specific protection of the Constitution, solving power-sharing conflicts through legal means, and possibly dissolving a political party which acts in breach of principles of the Constitution. Pavel Rychetsky also announced that a proposal to increase the powers of president has not been proposed so far.

[Sestak] The government today also agreed to conclude and agreement on payments with the Soviet Union. The draft agreement is based on the principle that, from 1 January, mutual payments will be made in freely convertible currencies. [passage omitted]

Federal Service Director Explains Plans

AU1812075790 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 8 Dec 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Jiri Novotny, director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, by Katarina Fornerova; place and date not given: "I Want To Protect, Not To Induce Fear"; first paragraph is SMENA introduction]

[Text] As we announced in yesterday's issue of SMENA, Jiri Novotny, new director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy and successor to Jiri Muller—whose recall was presented almost as a scandal in the media—kept the promise he had given to us. The interview, though it is a long-distance interview, is in front of your eyes.

[Fornerova] Every country has its secret security service. What, in your opinion, should be the task of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy?

[Novotny] The answer is simple. That is to say, it ensues from the anticipated wording of the Law on the Federal Information Service (a probable new name of the Office). I am taking the liberty to quote: The Federal Service gathers, stores, and analyzes important information with respect to the protection of the constitutional arrangement of the state, with respect to the defense and security of the state, with respect to the protection of human rights and freedoms, and it detects criminal activity against the security of the state. It gathers information about the activity of foreign intelligence services and cooperates in supervising whether the special handling [ochranny rezim] of the goods and technology—the imports and exports of which are regulated by special provisions—is respected. It cooperates in gathering, storing and analyzing information on terrorism and, of course, cooperates in protecting state secrets.

[Fornerova] Compared to other colleagues from similar institutions, you are at a certain disadvantage—you are only 32. That is, you are very young and you are not a "pro." Will you be able to work without advisers, and, if not, then from what areas are you going to chose them?

[Novotny] It is too soon to talk about choosing the advisers. In case I feel the need to have them, and this is very probable, I will respect the same rules that are applied for hiring other employees. I stress personal and moral qualities and intellectual prerequisites for our work.

As far as my age is concerned, I have the impression that during the few month of my work in the office I became a few years older. Under the given circumstances, this is a question that can be regarded from various aspects. For example, thanks to my age I feel I have enough strength and energy to withstand the burden.

[Fornerova] At the news conference (according to LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE) we heard that you got the job in the intelligence service on the suggestion of Jan Ruml, federal deputy interior minister, whom you provided with some information. What kind of information was it that made you end up having a place in the Office?

[Novotny] It is not precise enough to say that I got a job in the intelligence service due only to some information that I had provided. I came to see Mr. Ruml when I was a journalist from the weekly FORUM (Jiri Novotny had more occupations—railway electrician, assistant movie director, cleaner, etc.) and I gave him some information about the rising crime rate in North Bohemia. Finally, he asked me whether I would be willing to work in the Office. After some hesitation, I accepted this offer. For long months I worked as an ordinary employee of the Office. It was not "some kind of information" that made me a director.

[Fornerova] Since the times of Richard Sacher, the idea (and Jan Langos has not cast doubt upon it) that the office be subordinated to the CSFR Federal Assembly has been professed. Will there be anything for the Federal Assembly to control? Can the citizens be sure that the work of the Office will not turn against themselves, that is, against the so-called "internal enemy?" What means are you going to employ to gather information, to recruit collaborators, and to be aware of the actions of foreign intelligence services?

[Novotny] I have to say in this connection that the draft law states that the Federal Information Service is controlled by the Federal Assembly. This also ensues from of all the discussions on this subject. The final form and mechanism of this control is a subject of further debate

and the final approval is in the hands of the Federal Assembly. I want to assure all our readers that I would not lend myself to build an organization that would, as a result of its operation, induce fear among decent people.

[Fornerova] You have said that you do not want to have former State Security members in your staff, even if they were screened. Where are you going to hire specialists? Would it not be a pity not to use the young and uninvolved graduates from the KGB College—would it not be better to use their skills, if not for other reason then for the sake of knowing how the USSR intelligence service works?

[Novotny] We have to bring up our own specialists. As far as your idea about the utilization of the young graduates from the KGB College for our work is concerned, I am afraid that you did not weigh all the circumstances and consequences ensuing from such a decision. Apart from other things, what it would mean for the reputation of the Federal Information Service in the eyes of the public?

[Fornerova] Maybe, it is to early to ask, but what credo have you adopted for your work?

[Novotny] I want to build the service in such a way that I will not have to be afraid of it when I leave it. I want it to be a service protecting our nations and not inducing fear.

New Right-Wing Coalition Formed in Prague

AU1812111590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Dec 90 p 4

[CTK report: "Movement 90 Coalition"]

[Text] "Czechoslovakia is in the throes of crisis, caused by the inconsistent and incompetent policies of Civic Forum [OF] and the Public Against Violence movement [VPN]." This was the key sentence of yesterday's constituent meeting in Prague of the Movement 90 Coalition [Koalice Hnuti 90], which ran like a scarlet thread through the meeting's fabric. The idea to form this coalition, whose aim is to unite small, mostly right-wing nongovernmental parties, movements, and associations standing in opposition to the OF, the VPN, and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, was initiated by Movement 90. The aim of the coalition is to establish a stable system and its healthy reform as well as the establishment of prerequisites for Czechoslovakia's solid partnership with advanced countries. Representatives of the Czechoslovak National Congress, the Czechoslovak People's Party, Charter 90, the Patriotic Movement of Czechoslovakia, the Party of Beer Aficionados, Members of Technical Support Battalions [special army units to which "politically suspect" recruits were assigned in the fifties], the Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia, the St. Wenceslas Association, and the Confederation of Political Prisoners of Czechoslovakia attended the meeting.

People's Party Calls OF Policy 'Hazardous'

AU1812151890 Prague CTK in English 1743 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 15 (CTK)—The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak People's Party, which had a session here today, said in its resolution that the policy of those Civic Forum representatives who have led the country 'to the very verge of a collapse of our statehood is hazardous'.

Members of the People's Party Central Committee appealed to the Federal Government to immediately adopt effective mechanisms to prevent a financial collapse and to support the socially weakest groups of the population. There were even voices calling for assuming an opposition line in the Czech Government but chairman of the party Josef Lux said that the government coalition should be preserved.

Strike Alert Called Off; Metal Workers Dissent

LD1812163590 Prague CTK in English 1403 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 18 (CTK)—A strike alert declared by the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions (CSKOS) last month ended at noon today but some member unions, notably metal workers, may go on, CSKOS Chairman Roman Kovac told journalists today.

He was speaking after yesterday's session of the CSKOS General Council which took the decision to call off the alert. It had been declared because of the trade unions' protests against legislation which has since been approved by parliament.

Kovac expressed satisfaction with the final versions of the laws on the employment and collective bargaining passed on December 4-5 but regarded amendments to the labour code approved simultaneously as curtailing trade union rights. The trade unions are entitled to be informed of the work of enterprises and matters concerning their economy and development but not to have a say in their co-management as the unions had demanded.

The general council of this largest Czechoslovak trade union federation, declaring a membership of over 6 million, now recommends its 65 member unions to focus on collective contracts for 1991 and prepare their own drafts for the bargaining.

Points now being debated by the trade unions and the government include minimum wages and unemployment benefits and the unions regard the government-proposed figures as insufficient. They particularly stressed that unemployment benefits should not exceed the minimum wage.

Government Objects to Pipeline Agreement

AU1812205390 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 14 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with CSFR Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky by Marta Csontosova; place and date not given: "Circumvention of the Federal Government"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Csontosova] How do you assess Tuesday's [11 December] agreement between the republican ministries of industry on the oil pipeline?

[Rychetsky] As far as we know, an agreement has only been concluded at the level of deputy ministers. This agreement is positive but it also contains some features with which we cannot be completely satisfied. It is positive in that it foresees the establishment of a single supranational company. Every judicious person understands that the oil pipeline must be administered from a single center. On the other hand, however, the agreement does not provide for participation by a federal body in the board of trustees. Looking at the agreement from this angle, it seems to us necessary to continue negotiations with the participation of the Federal Government.

[Csontosova] Do you insist on a federal stake in the company's shares?

[Rychetsky] Not at all. But it is the obligation of the Federal Government to be represented in the board of trustees. We are not interested in [getting a share of the company's] profits. What we are concerned with is the company's concept and the federal state's participation in the guidance of society's strategy.

[Csontosova] Did you know about preparations for the establishment of such a corporation?

[Rychetsky] No, we did not.

New Price Ceilings for Staple Foods Proposed

AU1812105390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Dec 90 p 2

["(nn)"-signed report: "Proposal for Maximum Food Prices"]

[Text] Prague (from our reporter)— The Federal Ministry of Finance is preparing the regulation of prices of designates types of food as of the beginning of next year. The proposed price decree, which is to have temporary validity, sets maximum prices. Its purpose is to prevent inordinate increases in food prices.

The maximum per-kilogram retail price of flour will be 6.50 korunas (current price is 5.30); of sugar 14.20 (10.70); haunch of pork 72 (60); neck of pork 51 (43); side of pork 30 (25); chicken 40 (31); eggs 1.80 (1.30) a piece; and milk 7.50 (4.80) per liter. The maximum retail price of potatoes for human consumption should be 4.80 per kilogram in January, 5.00 in February, 5.20 in March, and so forth. The maximum price in the second half of May should be 6.40.

This information was imparted to members of the Cooperative Farmers' Union [RDS] in the report of the RDS Presidium at their nationwide consultative meeting at Zdar nad Sazavou.

Government's Economic Development Variants Outlined

AU1412103790 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 10 Dec 90 pp 1,8

["(DO)"-signed report: "1991—Make or Break Year"]

[Text] The government's scenario for transforming the Czechoslovak economy is starting to be implemented, although this involves a certain amount of stumbling about. The autumnal lines for gasoline have gradually turned into a full-frontal assault on all stores and all goods. External circumstances—from the collapse of our traditional markets to the Persian Gulf crisis—have had an unfavorable effect. Because all these factors are not only accumulating, but are also augmenting each other, the government was afraid that the variants for the Czechoslovak economy's possible development could cause panic.

Therefore, it decided not to publish the document drafted in the Federal Ministry for Strategic Planning and in its republican partner offices. This was the explanation given by Federal Minister Pavel Hoffmann at a news conference held at the end of last week where he outlined why the document "Czechoslovak Economic Strategy Until 1992" was not made available to journalists on 22 November when it was approved by the government. The government's current change of mind comes as a consequence of an information leak which—largely like any other leak—led to the spread of misinformation.

On 23 November HOSPODARSKE NOVINY published a report—an outline at least—of what the document is about. In essence, it contains models of the outcome of the scenario for economic reform under the various conditions which may arise, first and foremost, in accordance with the availability of raw materials—mainly oil—from abroad. The document is not, consequently, a strategic plan such as the ones that used to be drafted, but analyzes our chances and details government action under various possible conditions so that reform may be implemented in case of unfavorable elements.

The first—favorable—variant envisages that raw material inputs will be guaranteed in an amount above the critical level; in the case of oil, this means at least 13 million tonnes per annum. Under these conditions, reform will be implemented to the extent originally envisaged. Variants two and three assume that supplies will fall to a critical (or perhaps crisis?) level; in the case of oil, to 11 million tonnes per annum. Under such circumstances the government would be forced to take administrative measures to restrict consumption. If oil supplies were to fall below 11 million tonnes per annum, this would fundamentally threaten the situation in the

enterprise sphere because energy demanding operations would have to be suspended. However, Minister Hoffmann stressed that the variants for development were drafted so that this particular kind of situation could be confronted. Therefore, providing investments for the construction of new oil pipelines connecting the Czechoslovak network to western Europe are considered to be an absolute priority. Despite this, the Czechoslovak economy would not feel the favorable impact of the diversification of oil and raw material supplies in general for at least two years. However, by that time it should have already transferred to a new market system.

In reply to a question from HOSPODARSKE NOVINY on why the document concentrates on 1991 in particular, Minister Hoffmann stated that this involves a purposeful strategy for the transition period and that it is impossible to forecast long-term trends when the length of the transition period itself is unknown. However, next year is, without a doubt, the make or break year.

During the first stage—following the liberalization of prices—there will be a prices shock, however, a demand buffer should restrain this within three to four months. The decline in demand (by the way, this is very much expected in food industry products) must force the enterprise sphere to change its behavior. This heralds the start of the second stage—the adaptation phase. During this stage, it will become apparent which enterprises have the ability to survive and which ones will go bankrupt. If the enterprise sphere does not differentiate within itself, the government will be unable to make qualified decisions about whom it will eventually help. Of course, the government will obviously give a helping hand to those enterprises which demonstrate their ability. This will be done in a new way—for example, by putting government orders out to tender—which will, obviously, concentrate on the spheres most affected such as the energy production industry and the infrastructure. Nevertheless, the government is prepared to preselect—during the difficult make or break period—regions or branches which could be extremely badly affected in the short term and to direct its relief there. However, the center is not bent on making lists of those enterprises "condemned" to ruin.

Any course of reform is dependent on internal circumstances and is also conditioned by external development. In this sense, the first stage—when, on the one hand, the purpose of price liberalization must not be interfered with and when, on the other hand, it is necessary to put a brake on the expected wage demands—is understood to be critical. The government is, obviously, realistic and is reckoning with a growth in wages since it does not place too much faith in regulating them by administrative means. However, it expects that the growth in wages will come behind the price increases and will also be less precipitant. This factor will also influence the capacity for demand.

Unemployment will be dependent upon the enterprises' adaptability. The worst variant envisages unemployment at around 100,000 people which will require approximately 2.5 billion korunas for support and requalification. The state budget does not take an increased financial burden into consideration, to say nothing of the government's obvious fears about social unrest. Nevertheless, the adaptation process should come to an end during the second half of next year and a revival should take place in 1992. This will not yet be in the form of economic growth, but it will at least be in a form which halts economic decline.

Statistician on Prospects for Economy in 1991

AU1712184490 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 10 Dec 90 p 2

["(VL)"-signed report: "The Outlook on Statistical Scales"]

[Text] The results achieved by the economy during the past 11 months as well as the outlook for the whole year are better than expected and it is rather surprising that they are not worse. This was how Engineer Ivan Sujan, chairman of the Federal Statistical Office [FSU], summed up the state of our economy three weeks before the magical date of 1 January 1991. He made his remarks at a news conference held in the FSU building on Friday 7 December.

Our gross generated national income, in permanent prices obviously, will fall by 3.5 percent in comparison to last year and our gross national product—our statistics are beginning to be oriented toward this methodology—will be approximately four percent lower. Both indicators, in essence, reflect the overall development in individual branches of the national economy. A decline of 3.3 percent is envisaged in industrial production, a 3.4 percent decline is envisaged in agriculture, and the worse decline of all—perhaps almost 10 percent—is envisaged in the construction industry. However, in some instances a partial decline is, to a certain extent, desirable such as, for example, a reduction in the extraction of brown coal, limiting metallurgical production, and so on.

If a lower national income is generated (according to current methodology) our consumed national income will be approximately 1.6 percent higher than last year, of course, at the expense of external relations. The unequal proportion between the growth in wages and the productivity of labor as well as the rise in the population's income—which has slowed down in recent months—are also included among the unfavorable aspects of development.

The research carried out by our statisticians into the envisaged level of unemployment and inflation provides an estimate both for optimists and for pessimists. The figures for next year hover between 190,000 (the optimistic variant) and 350,000 (this is the worst prognosis and is, incidentally, the same as the one used by Minister Vaclav Klaus on television last week). In contradiction to this, Valtr Komarek's estimates—which were also

aired on television last week—appear exaggerated to the staff in our statistical office.

All the considerations about the possible rate of inflation are even more problematic. It is certainly possible to expect attempts to increase prices, first and foremost, during the first quarter of the year. However, it may be envisaged that during the subsequent months things will calm down and the price levels will balance out. However, even with the very best endeavor it is impossible to properly quantify what external influences will be like and what the consequences of the devaluation of the koruna or of the tension in the Persian Gulf will be. It is also impossible to quantify the consequences of other—today barely anticipated—events on the world scene.

Remainder of Anti-Chemical Warfare Unit Leaves

AU1712182290 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 15 Dec 90 p 1

["(jet)"-signed report: "Our People in Arabia"]

[Text] Prague—The last component of our [anti-chemical warfare] unit left yesterday from the old airport in Prague-Ruzyne. The transfer was accomplished by employing the total of 12 giant C-5 Galaxy airplanes and the last machine that concluded the transport was a C-141 airplane.

Vales Interviewed on Moscow Trade Agreement

LD1812161190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Vaclav Vales by Jaroslav Skalicky; at Prague Airport on 17 December upon Vales' return from talks in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] [Skalicky] You signed in Moscow an intergovernmental agreement on trade and economic relations for next year. What are the main points of this agreement?

[Vales] The main purpose of this agreement was to supplement the agreement of 1 September with lists which will determine the volume of mutual supplies, in particular of raw materials from the Soviet side and machinery from our side. This agreement contains two lists. One covers all raw materials except oil, which, apart from several items that have remained in the republics' jurisdictions, include all the basic raw materials that we imported from the Soviet Union up to now and which are or will be paid for by our supplies of machines in particular. Machinery represents about 60 percent.

As for the oil, an agreement has been reached that the Soviet Union will supply us with 7.5 million tonnes, one part of which will be payed for by our supplies of machinery for the oil industry and another part in convertible currency.

[Skalicky] Will there be any chance of also receiving oil supplies from the republics?

[Vales] In theory the agreement covers such a possibility, but judging from the situation which was obvious during the three rounds of talks, I think that it will be very difficult.

[Skalicky] But Czechoslovakia needs at least 11 million tonnes of oil annually. How are we going to obtain the rest?

[Vales] There is another possibility we can try and that is to get more oil for convertible currency. And next year we will have to do the inevitable, which is to diversify financial resources and buy part of the oil supplies somewhere else and use the other route, which is the Adrija oil pipeline.

At this round of talks, which was the most difficult one so far, we also succeeded in reaching an agreement setting the rate coefficient for the ruble credits and the active balance to be paid to Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union at one ruble to one dollar.

[Skalicky] So how many dollars does the Soviet Union owe us at the moment?

[Vales] At the moment the Soviet Union owes us $2.8 billion. Only a part of this, however, can be used next year, because $2 billion represent a bridging credit that was granted by the former government—the government of Mr. Adamec—for the period up to 1995. If a situation arises in which we will need to use this credit before that time, the previous agreement enables us to resume the talks, but it will not be easy. In any case, it is easier to talk about how to use dollar credits than ruble ones, so even in this sense it is not without significance.

[Skalicky] If I asked you to sum up the results, are you satisfied?

[Vales] Under the given circumstances I am satisfied. In a normal situation I would like to achieve more but under the circumstances which exist at the present time in the Soviet Union and under the conditions in which the six rounds of talks were conducted—before my time, with Ministers Barcak, Stracar, and others—I am glad that the whole thing was concluded with this agreement, which gives us some further room.

Preparation for Soviet Emigration Under Way

LD1712102190 Prague CTK in English 0925 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 17 (CTK)—The office of the Czechoslovak Government commissioner for refugeese has asked the government for an appropriation to be able to set up refugee camps for 3,000 people, the weekly RESPEKT wrote in its latest issue, in expectation of a refugee wave from the Soviet Union and other countries.

Its philosophy is to grant asylum only on political grounds and in justified cases.

The weekly said that estimates of the expected numbers of emigrants from the Soviet Union after it opens its borders to free travel differ. West European experts expect 2.5 million while Austria, one of the buffer states, assumes that the number of refugees from the Soviet Union will be up to 8 million.

The weekly notes that Austrian Army exercises held near the Czechoslovak border in mid-November might have been a maneuvre how to increase border protection.

Poles too have been moving some of their troops to the Soviet border. According to RESPEKT, their plan for the solution of the refugees problem rests to a great extent on cooperation with the population.

Hungary is able to absorb 100,000-200,000 emigrants next year, according to a parliamentary commission, but the question is who will finance this project.

RESPEKT quotes Czechoslovak Defence Minister Lubos Dobrovsky who says that "the Army should be used for humanitarian action or to regulate the migration wave so as to reduce possible damage".

Minister Visits Controversial Nuclear Power Plant

AU1812151090 Prague CTK in English 1505 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Bratislava Dec 16 (CTK)—Minister of the Czechoslovak Government and Chairman of the Federal Committee for the Environment Josef Vavrousek visited yesterday the nuclear power plant at Jaslovske Bohunice, West Slovakia, to get acquainted with its current operation and removal of remnants of the A-1 power plant reactor after first accident in 1977.

Josef Vavrouek discussed with members of the leadership of the power plant information which was published in the Austrian press in connection with the plant last weekend.

The minister also attended a meeting of the Slovak union of nature protectors. Dealing with nuclear safety in Czechoslovakia, especially in connection with the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant, he said that the plant is still within a safety limit but will exceed it, i.e., it will not work for 30 years but only for several months or years. Two variants are being dealt with at present either to close the plant for several weeks or months and carry out partial repairs or to realize fundamental repairs.

Commenting on the information published in the press according to which Austria would supply Czechoslovakia with energy, he said that this information is an invention as the Austrians themselves have to import energy. Unnecessary closure of the nuclear power plant must be prevented but if there are proofs that it is dangerous there would be no other choice, he pointed out.

Commenting on the problems connected with the water dam system on the Danube, Vavrousek said that Czechoslovakia and Hungary have agreed to ask the EC for help.

Urges Contamination Cleanup

LD1612220190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] This is the canal through which the waste water from the V-1 bloc of the closed-down A1 unit of the nuclear power station at Jaslovske Bohunice flows out. Increased concentrations of plutonium and americium have been discovered however in the sediment of the Dudvah River into which the canal empties. Even if the results of an analysis do not exceed valid international norms, the concentration discovered is about 20 times higher than the usual amount of radioactivity under normal conditions.

Precisely this information about the Dudvah contamination published in newspapers this week was the immediate cause of yesterday's visit by Josef Vavrousek, Czechoslovak Government minister and chairman of the Federal Environment Committee, who on Thursday set up a working group to investigate the information and to propose any necessary measures, including decontamination of the A unit at Jaslovske Bohunice.

[Begin Vavrousek recording] I consider it my natural duty to come here and see the situation for myself, and at the same time to talk to the plant's manager and the health and safety officer in charge in order to inform them that their employees will participate in the working group, so that people are well informed, and so that a solution can be found as soon as possible.

I think, and I would like to repeat this, that citizens are under no immediate threat. The contaminated places will be marked in such a way that it will be clear to people who do not live here that they should avoid those places. A solution will be found as soon as possible to eliminate these sediments and store them securely so that they do not damage the environment somewhere else. [end recording]

At the meeting with the management of the nuclear plant and employees of the district health and safety office, agreement was reached that the liquidation of the closed-down A1 unit—which due to an accident has not been working for 14 years, though it still remains a potential source of contamination—has to be implemented as soon as possible.

Among other things discussed was also the need to build a new cleansing unit for waste water, and the unjustified campaign in the Austrian mass media aimed at the immediate closure of the V1 station.

Dienstbier Says Bohunice Not To Be Closed Down

AU1812114290 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] CSFR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier has confirmed that his government rejects closing down the Bohunice nuclear power plant, as demanded by Austria. During his meeting with Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock in Laa on Thaya, Dienstbier spoke about a campaign in Austria. He said, however, that this might also have positive aspects because it forced those responsible to take the greatest possible safety precautions.

British Aerospace Proposes Extensive Investments

AU1812160290 Prague CTK in English 1952 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 14 (CTK)—British Aerospace informed Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa here today of its plans for extensive investments in Czechoslovakia.

The British firm is ready to reconstruct the airport at Kosice, East Slovakia. If Czechoslovakia accepts the proposal, British Aerospace will work out a program of building works, including their timetable. It is also ready to provide expert training for Czechoslovak staff.

British Aerospace also proposes to create high-quality infrastructure at localities attractive for trade in exchange for revenues from the lots, supplies of aircraft, cooperation in environmental improvement, etc.

Diplomatic Representation of Cuba in U.S. To Stop

LD1812224890 Prague CTK in English 2147 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 18 (CTK)—Cuba's Embassy in Prague has been notified that Czechoslovakia will stop representing Cuba's diplomatic and consular interests in the United States by March 31, 1991 at the latest.

The date was chosen so that Cuba may cope with the situation adequately and so that its interests in the United States may not be harmed.

According to sources close to the Federal Foreign Ministry, the reason for terminating Czechoslovakia's representation of Cuban diplomatic and consular interests in the United States by next March 31 were different opinions of the two countries on the exercising of human rights.

The sources said that also fundamental changes in Czechoslovak-Cuban relations have contributed to this step. Czechoslovakia, for instance, has so far received no apology for the events at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Havana last July, when Cuban "dissidents" broke into the embassy premises, which can be rightfully presumed to have been intended to discredit the new Czechoslovak regime in the eyes of the Cuban public, the sources said.

According to Czechoslovak diplomatic circles, the attitudes of the two countries differ also in views on the observance of economic and cultural agreements.

Meanwhile, Cuban Charge d'Affaires in Czechoslovakia Jorge Desiderio Payret commented that he had learnt about the whole matter from the Czechoslovak News Agency and he could therefore offer no official statement of the Cuban Embassy.

The Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington has been representing Cuban diplomatic and consular interests since June 1977. Diplomatic and consular ties between the USA and Cuba were severed in January 1961.

Calfa Comments on Trade With Algeria, Gas, Oil

AU1712111390 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 11 Dec 90 p 7

[Report on an interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa, by Dagmar Truncova in Rabat, Morocco, on 3 December: "With Prime Minister Calfa in Africa, But Not Only About Africa; Sitting in a Lounge"]

[Text] **It is a rare occasion when a journalist can get hold of Prime Minister Calfa. Hence, journalists appreciate even more the informal meetings with him during his trips abroad. I have experienced only two. During both of them, he spoke with us not only about the meetings in that particular country but also about other "burning issues." On the return trip from a one-day conference with Prime Minister Ryzhkov in Moscow, he came to see us on board the plane and provided us with an opportunity to examine some details of his extremely difficult talks. Last week, a similar unofficial meeting took place in the Sapphire hotel in Rabat, where he stayed during his four-day trip to Africa.**

He spoke with us in a small, pleasant lounge about the "progress" of the talks but also about the "progress" of the Czechoslovak economy. A number of questions were raised directly or indirectly connected with his trip to Africa, i.e., particularly concerning supplies of gas and, logically, also about Czechoslovak energy supplies.

Main Topic—Gas

To ensure natural gas supplies, whether in liquid or gaseous state through a pipeline—that was one of the main reasons for our trip to Africa, the prime minister said. I heard the speeches by both prime ministers made on the occasion of the Czechoslovak delegation's visit. Personally, I consider Marian Calfa's speech to be very concrete while that by the Algerian prime minister was more general. The important thing is that an outline of an agreement on the supplies of Algerian gas was eventually approved. According to Prime Minister Calfa, the talks were extremely long (this can be confirmed by the journalists waiting in the anterooms) and difficult, but the outcome was that Algeria accepted the long-term concept of delivering natural gas to Central Europe and

Czechoslovakia. Hence, the necessary step on the government level was made. Now the experts should enter the picture, and very fast at that, to work out the technical side of the project. It must be decided whether the gas would be transported by a pipeline through Tunisia to Italy and then in the framework of the planned project now under negotiation by the Pentagonal countries (through Yugoslavia and Hungary) or whether we will choose an alternative arrangement, i.e., the transport of liquid gas by tankers to evaporator stations on the western coast of Europe and from there through the Western European pipeline network to Czechoslovakia. Certainly, both variants will be very capital demanding. Experts will decide which variant is more expedient. The possibility cannot be dismissed that in the future both variants will be utilized. For us, Prime Minister Calfa said, it is very important that the payments for these deliveries would be deposited in a joint Czech-Algerian bank, which would also keep a record of our exports. Thus, a single clearing center would be formed with a record of payments in both directions. In response to the question of our outstanding claims, i.e., the credit in Algeria, the Czechoslovak prime minister explained that the Algerian side is supposed to pay to Czechoslovakia approximately $30 million annually until the year 2004. The current annual payment is $32 million and the Algerian prime minister made a personal promise that Algeria will pay two-thirds of that amount in cash by the end of next January; the remainder then within the first six months of the year.

What With Shall We Pay

The talk also turned to the possibility of crude oil supplies. Already in the fall, in connection with the critical situation in oil supplies, Prime Minister Calfa asked the Algerian prime minister in a personal letter for 100,000 tonnes of this substance. However, Algeria has sold out all its oil produced until end of January 1991. It did not promise any deliveries.

Asked about the chance Czechoslovak exports have in Algeria, whether they could cover the gas imports, the prime minister said that Algeria is interested in many Czechoslovak products. It is a country of substantial dimensions. They build highways, railroads, and irrigation systems, i.e., projects we are capable of realizing. They are also interested in our aviation technology, engineering products for the food industry, tractors and other agricultural machinery. The actual negotiation, however, must now pass on to the level of economic units, and that means on both sides.

There is no doubt that the negotiations in Algeria represent the most important element of the trip to the Maghreb. Algeria is Czechoslovakia's third largest trade partner in Africa, and at the same time, it is a potential supplier of a raw material of vital importance for our economy.

Shall We Get Crude Oil From the USSR?

At the moment when the conversation moved onto the topic of energy and Czechoslovak needs in this area, despite the distance separating us from home, it logically slipped to the problems of our imports of Soviet raw materials. So far, there are no problems with gas. The main problem is crude oil. The Soviet Union is not even honoring the obligations agreed upon in the recent discussions with Prime Minister Calfa personally. We asked what would happen if the Soviet Union stopped its deliveries altogether, whether an economic scenario exists for such a situation.

Prime Minister Calfa confirmed that the situation in the USSR really is critical and that in this respect the Czechoslovak economy truly hangs on a thread. He used the occasion to complain that at home we have a somewhat distorted idea of priorities—we are frightened by all kinds of things, starting with the national tongue and ending with the old structures, but we do not realize that the economic future "literally hangs on a single pipe"—that pipe leads from the USSR. He said that a scenario is ready, which includes a number of emergencies. It will be submitted to the State Budgetary Committee deputies for assessment. He is concerned about making the scenario public because the people tend to panic. As an illustration, he used the first gasoline price increase. The government was cursed for having announced the higher prices too far in advance, then again for having announced the price changes too late. Apparently, that is an ordinary occurrence in a democratic state and we will have to get used to it. The government must concern itself with its own business and just continue working.

The recently negotiated deliveries of crude oil from Tyumen [Western Siberia] also popped up in the conversation. Prime Minister Calfa said that they are being honored but the central government in Moscow cut the deliveries agreed upon on the state level by the same amount. This year, we were supposed to get 16.6 million tonnes of crude oil. In the second half, the Soviets will not supply 5 million tonnes. Thus, a simple calculation will tell you that our economy survived a cut in consumption by approximately one-third. What is the point of this story? The demand for energy can be, and must be reduced. How? Particularly by means of economic instruments. The economic units will save energy only if its consumption will be too costly for them.

As can be seen, in the given situation, we really have only one chance. Energy consumption must be reduced. Thus, although we might now get a substantial quantity of gas from Africa, it does not mean that everything is whoopsy daisy.

In conclusion: The trip to Africa does not mean only ensuring supplies of a vital raw material. We made good contacts in countries able to help us contact more and more African countries.

Havel Awarded UNESCO Human Rights Prize

AU1712105190 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 11 Dec 90, p 16

[CTK report: "The UNESCO Prize to V. Havel"]

[Text] Ladislav Kovac, head of the Czechoslovak mission at UNESCO, accepted, on behalf of CSFR President Vaclav Havel, the UNESCO prize for the Education Toward Human Rights for 1990 from the hands of Eduard Portello, deputy general director of this international institution, in Paris yesterday.

The UNESCO prize for Education Toward Human Rights was awarded to Vaclav Havel by the UNESCO General Director, Frederico Mayor, at the suggestion of an international panel. The prize was established in 1978 and is awarded once every two years. The prize is handed over on 10 December, on the occasion of Human Rights Day.

Government Session Views CEMA Standardization

LD1712232690 Prague CTK in English 2156 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 17 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government today decided to cancel the convention on application of standards of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), valid since 1975, since Czechoslovakia is switching over to world and European standards.

In connection with changes in the concept of the CMEA activity, the government also consented to the cancellation of two more multilateral international agreements, while revision or preservation of another 13 agreements will be discussed with foreign partners.

The government agreed with concluding an agreement by the Czechoslovak and Mongolian Governments on profit taxes to be imposed on the Mongolchekhoslovakmetal joint venture. During construction, the minerals mining and processing enterprise was exempted from all direct taxes and payments, but now, when it has reached projected capacities, a 30-per cent tax (according to Mongolian legislation) must be imposed on it.

In view of the fact that the Soviet Union, sole importer of Czechoslovak uranium, has stopped buying the raw material, and in view of the fact that Czechoslovakia's uranium concentrate could be marketed in the world only with a loss due to high production costs, a concept of scaling down uranium mining has been worked out.

However, reduction of uranium mining to the level of the need of Czechoslovakia's nuclear power generation will have social impacts (it is envisaged that some 6,000 people will lose their jobs in the next five years), and therefore, the government enjoined the finance, and labour and social affairs ministers to solve the question in cooperation with relevant bodies of the national republics by supporting development alternative production projects.

The government also discussed today a draft wage reform whose philosophy rests in reduction of state interference and emphasis on collective bargaining.

Czechoslovak Deputy Labour and Social Affairs Ministers Vojtech Mechura said that relations between prices and wages will be embedded in the "general agreement" which is being drafted. It is envisaged that wages will grow at a slower rate than prices in order to prevent acceleration of inflation.

According to Mechura, next year real wages will decline which will be due also to a drop in production due, inter alia, to restructuralizing of the economy, conversion of the armament industry, etc.

Speaking about monitoring of polychlorinated biphenyls (BCP) in farm produce and food, Czechoslovak Control Minister Kvetoslava Korinkova said that it was considered in Czechoslovakia for the first time in 1976, but thus far, it is not regularly conducted.

However, she said, a technology has already been elaborated at a research institute which provides for cheap 95-per cent decontamination of farm produce and food.

The government enjoined minister-chairman of the Federal Committee for the Environment to submit a proposal for solution by March 30, 1991.

Czech Government Makes Administrative Changes

AU1712122190 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 11 Dec 90 p 1

["(ZC)"-signed report: "Two Seats Fewer"]

[Text] Prague—The Czech Republic Government held another extraordinary session yesterday at which it prepared a statement on Human Rights Day. It also discussed a draft Czech National Council [CNR] law on measures for the system of Czech Republic state administration central organs. The draft law abolishes as of 1 January 1991 the Ministry of Construction and the Building Industry and the Ministry of Engineering and the Electrotechnical Industry whose functions are being transferred in a differentiated manner to the Ministry for Economic Policy and Development and the Industry Ministry. The draft law also transfers to the abovementioned ministries and the Ministry of Trade and Tourism some of the current jurisdictions belonging to the health, interior, and environment ministries and also, within the sphere of the Czech Republic, some of the jurisdictions belonging to the state administration central organs. The government also abolished as of 31 December 1990 the Government Committee for Private Enterprise. It approved a draft CNR law on the activity of Czech Republic organs in the prices sphere.

Entrepreneurs, Tradesmen Party Elect New Chairman

AU1812103790 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 11 Dec 90 p 2

[CTK report in "Briefly" column]

[Text] Zdenek Zahorka, new chairman of the Party of Entrepreneurs and Tradesmen, said that the most important task of the party will be providing free-of-charge legal assistance and economic consultations to entrepreneurs during the period of privatization of small firms. Cooperation with the Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs in the Czech Republic—which was impeded by the former party chairman —is, in his opinion, very important.

Moravian Parties Propose New Country Arrangement

AU1812112190 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 12 Dec 90 p 1

["(jh)"-signed report: "Moravia Wants the Union Republic of Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] Brno—For the first time in the post-November history, representatives of all political parties and movements in Moravia and Silesia met in Brno yesterday. The final objective, upon which all Moravian politicians unanimously agreed after a six-hour discussion, is the Union Republic Czechoslovakia, in which Moravia and Silesia would be independent legal entities. They point out that the existing arrangement of our state is a constant source of political tensions and they also suggest that a referendum be held to solve possible controversial issues.

Moravian National Party Elects Chairman

LD1612160590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] The Moravian National Party [moravska narodni strana] elected Ivan Drimal chairman at its first congress in Brno today. The party wants to resolve the legislative position of Moravia on a national principle and by political means, and build a stable Czechoslovakia based on equality of the nations that comprise it.

Criticism of both Prague-centrism and the ruling party was voiced, and cultural supression and economic exploitation of Moravia were pointed out.

Boleslav Barta, chairman of the Movement for Self-Administered Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia, in his speech expressed the view that the common aim [of the movement] and the Moravian National Party is to create a state of three federal territories.

Constituent Meeting of OF Liberal Club Statement

AU1812152190 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 14 Dec 90 p 2

["Policy statement of the newly constituted Liberal Club within the Civic Forum movement"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday evening, an interparliamentary Civic Forum [OF] Liberal Club was constituted in the Czech National Council. The membership of the new political association is formed by Czech Republic deputies of both legislative bodies. At the conclusion of its first joint session, the OF Liberal Club issued the following statement:

In both the June and the November elections, the Czechoslovak public expressed convincing support for the OF and Public Against Violence [VPN] movements. The decisive opposition to the former regime on the part of both movements was just as much the reason for it as was a concrete electoral program. The endeavors to prepare such a program led to an internal differentiation within the OF. Nevertheless, the OF remains united in its support of the program for which it is responsible to its voters.

After the period of necessary preparations, the implementation of the radical economic reform began with a manifest adoption of the first laws. The privatization process is becoming a matter of course.

Independent and responsible citizenship makes it possible to entrust the communities, regions, and republics with all powers they can execute more effectively than the state entity. The unified information, transport, energy, and other networks—unity similar to that international relations—make it possible, however, to form a just joint state of Czechs and Slovaks, and of all other nationalities including the ethnic minorities, i.e., a federation as the only possible solution to our lasting joint interests.

These program goals are common to all adherents of OF.

A market economy, however, cannot be a goal but just the chief means for achieving prosperity and a dignified life in a healthy and clean environment. On the road to this goal, a humane society is bound to reduce the impact of the unavoidable shocks to its socially weak groups, to develop health care, culture, and education including the retraining.

The return to Europe does not mean just the entry into the EC and its other institutions or the endeavors to attain a Europe-wide collective security and to comply with international agreements and minority rights. It is also a return to the foundations of European culture and ethics, moral and spiritual revival of the society.

Only the system of a pluralistic parliamentary democracy leads in politics to a gradual realization and preservation of these goals. It is an environment of such a democratic culture and generally accepted rules, in

which several political parties will be able to compete in a politically correct manner for the maximum utilization of their programs, without endangering this democratic pluralistic culture itself, or the economic prosperity and basic social security. November 17, 1989 was only the beginning of the way to this system, the free elections gave rise to its first democratic institutions.

The OF Liberal Club intends to be a guarantor of this road and it desires the cooperation of all components of the Forum, and a constant development of the most suitable concept and strategy on the ground of internal tolerance and respect for opinions of others. The OF Liberal Club is convinced that only a sober, concrete, realistic, and firm policy of strong and—viewed externally—undivided movements of the OF and VPN can fulfill the promise given to their voters in both elections. In the future, this policy should be implemented by an integrating federal political force joining all nations and ethnic minorities and building on the principle of responsible citizenship.

The OF Liberal Club was signed by: Dagmar Buresova, Pavel Rychetsky, Petr Pithart, Vaclav Vales, Milan Lukes, Jiri Dienstbier, Tomas Sokol, Lubos Dobrovsky, Milan Horallek, Josef Vavrousek, Leon Richter, Jiri Nezval, Petr Miller, Bohumil Kubat, Vlasta Stepova, Kvetoslava Korinkova, Martin Palous, Kveta Princova, Zuzana Chudomelova, Frantisek Formanek, Jaroslav Borecky

Federal Assembly Deputies Jana Petrova, Milos Zeman, Vlastislav Valtr, Bohumil Hlavicka, Jan Solc, Vladimir Mikule, Petr Brodsky, Vlasta Parkanova, Dana Nemcova, Jiri Soucek, Jaroslav Hladik, Miroslav Richter, Mahulena Cejkova, Stanislav Chylek, Karel Jezek, Jiri Dienstbier, Jr., Jiri Bures, Ruth Sormova, Ivan Rynda, Jiri Soukup, Ladislav Vrchovsky, Jiri Musilek, Ivan Mynar, Sona Tarhoviska, Dana Branna, Jan Kacer, Josef Doksansky, Rudolf Hrusinsky, Jiri Ruml, Jan Kavan, Radomil Ropek, Drahomira Kovarikova, Pavel Jegl

Czech National Council Deputies Vladimir Lastuvka, Vladimir Sunian, Leonard Danneberg, Milena Vorlova, Zdenek Kotrly, Daniela Kolarova, Petr Kraus, Ivo Svoboda, Jaromir Stibic, Vera Culikova, Jiri Kalfus, Frantisek, Jan Kvet, Martin Bursik, Jindrich Sebor, Karel Kriz, Heda Cechova, Frantisek Kozel, Petr Kozanek, Vaclav Splichal, Zdenek Barta, Herman Chromy, Valter Piverka, Jan Sapak, Stanislav Zajicek, Karel Holomek, Vojtech Dohnal, Petr Pospisil, Jarmila Malenakova, Jaroslava Moserova, Zbynek Macha, Vaclav Stieber, Karel Pechacek, Jana Ryslinkova, Vaclav Zak, Vladimir Libal

Press Views OF's Policy-Making Meeting

AU1812103590

[Editorial Report] Czech and Slovak newspapers on 11 and 12 December publish 300 to 800-word commentaries on the "all-republican" meeting of Civic Forum [OF] representatives in Olomouc on 8 to 9 December, which formulated the OF's policy principles.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 11 December on page 2 carries an 800-word Vladimir Divis commentary entitled "OF: Shift to the Right Confirmed." Divis views the outcome of the meeting as a victory for OF Chairman Vaclav Klaus and his concept of "transforming the OF from the present broad coalition of movements into a clearly defined right-wing political party." As the proposal for "preserving the OF's broad political platform," which was championed in Olomouc by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, was rejected by the absolute majority of delegates from the districts, Divis believes that "there no longer seem to be any serious obstacles to Vaclav Klaus implementing his plans, apart from the economic sphere, including in the political sphere."

Divis says that only the next parliamentary elections can show what impact the OF's shift will have on its sympathizers and voters. He suspects, however, that it will "narrow the OF's electoral base."

Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 11 December on page 3 carries an 800-word Michal Slavik commentary entitled "Orientation to the Right." According to the author, the Olomouc meeting marked the "culminating point in the process of differentiation within the OF" and a definitive departure from "the OF in the form in which it was founded." He believes, however, that the Olomouc meeting failed to give a reply to several questions. One of these questions is "what will happen to the OF representatives and deputies who decide not to join" the right-center political party as defined by Vaclav Klaus. The other question is how OF voters will react, since "they voted for the OF in the form in which it existed at the time of the elections." Slavik also asks whether it is wise of Vaclav Klaus to "neglect" the issue of his party's social program, as—given the absence of a "respectable" left-wing party in Czechoslovakia—this omission "may drive intimidated voters into the hands of communist demagogy."

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 12 December on page 1 carries an 800-word Jaroslav Veis commentary entitled "Fear of the New." The commentary focuses on one passage of Vaclav Klaus' speech at the Olomouc meeting, which concerned the OF's attitude toward intellectuals. This passage reads: "I think that we must painstakingly pay heed to maintaining contacts with artists and intellectuals in general. It is clear and natural, for logical and historical reasons, that there exist strong left-wing tendencies in these two groups, a strong tendency to come up with something new, and an endeavor not to be tied up with anything, both ideologically and organizationally. This is what I consider to be exceptionally important."

Veis acknowledges that Klaus is an "immensely competent politician and national economist." He believes, however, that his "attitude to 'artists and intellectuals in general' is problematic, to say the least." In Veis'

opinion, Klaus' formulation contains an element of "accusation" because it implies that there is no place in the OF for "the liberally and socially oriented intelligentsia." Veis also "does not comprehend" Klaus' "alarm over the tendency 'to come up with something new'," as "without these tendencies we would perhaps still be living in trees."

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 12 December on page 2 carries a 300-word Tomas Marek commentary entitled "Victory With an Unpleasant Prospect." Marek says that although the delegates to the Olomouc meeting gave overwhelming support to Vaclav Klaus' plan for OF's transformation into a right-wing political party (171 delegates voted for the program outlined by Vaclav Klaus while only 24 delegates rejected it or abstained), the meeting did not "resolve possible conflicts within the OF, which, by their potentially unappetizing nature, could have an impact on voters as well as on future cooperation between political subjects born out of the present movement. After the January OF Assembly, which will most likely approve the founding of a party, one will start to haggle about property, the OF symbol, its tradition, and its reputation among the people. It remains to be seen whether even in these matters Vaclav Klaus will show enough political foresight to remove friction and not to bar the way for an agreement between his right wing and those politicians who decide not to join him."

Pithart Notes Ostrava Economic Tension

LD1612222590 Prague CTK in English 1944 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 16 (CTK)—The Ostrava region in North Moravia might become a gunpowder barrel and complicate the situation in the whole republic. Many big enterprises in the region will have no means for wages at the beginning of 1991, Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart said in his regular television interview broadcast tonight.

The Czech Government has already started discussions with the Federal Finance Ministry about this question.

Dealing with the problem of the return of Volhynian Czechs he said that the Czech Government has only restricted possibilities and that creation of conditions for solving the issue wil require some time.

Slovak Press Said To Face Bankruptcy Threat

AU1912112590

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 14 December on page 6 carries an 800-word Vladimir Holina article entitled "At What Price Shall We Read?" On the same page NARODNA OBRODA publishes an 800-word statement by the Presidium of the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists entitled "Let Us Save the Slovak Press." Both items deal with the uncertain future of newspaper publishing in Slovakia in the economic conditions resulting from price increases that will go into effect on 1 January 1991 (a 22 percent sales tax on the periodical press, a 100 to 200 percent increase in the price of newsprint, as well as considerably increased printing costs, office rents, energy costs, and fees charged by CTK).

According to Holina, the changes mean that a daily newspaper will have to be published in at least 200,000 copies to reach break-even point, compared with 100,000 copies at present. The repercussions of the economic changes are far more severe for the Slovak press than for the Czech press, according to Holina, because the Slovak market is half the size of the Czech market, because Czech press exports to Slovakia far exceed Slovak press exports to the Czech Republic, and because Czechs are more avid newspaper buyers than Slovaks (although Holina does not provide any figures, he says that the per-capita number of newspaper copies issued in Slovakia in 1989 was the same as the per-capita number of newspaper copies issued in the Czech Republic in 1960). Moreover, the Slovak newspaper market is "less homogeneous" than the Czech market; the ethnic minorities in Slovakia, for example, all publish newspapers of their own. Holina says that the situation of the Slovak press "seems to be hopeless and the consequences are unfathomable." He appeals to the government to consider a "zero sales tax" on newspapers but cautions that even this measure will not suffice to guarantee the survival of Slovak newspapers. To "maintain the periodical press at least at the current level," he says, the press will require "direct and indirect support from the state, at least temporarily."

The statement by the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists points to the "acute threat" to the existence of the periodical press as a result of the coming economic changes and to the "incalculable cultural and social consequences" of this threat. It emphasizes the importance of the periodical press for national culture and the democratic development of society and calls for the creation of conditions that would "prevent the disintegration of the system of the press" in Slovakia. It says that Slovak newspaper publishers will require both direct and indirect help, i.e. subsidies, a zero sales tax, as well as advantageous credit terms. This help should be extended "at least temporarily," until "an economic environment is established that would be comparable to that existing in countries with a market economy where advertising accounts for at least one-half of newspaper revenues."

Havel's Ideas About 'Union Setup' Rejected

AU1412125490 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Dec 90 p 3

[Sveto Bombik commentary: "The Unitarists' New Concept"]

[Text] A report from "well-informed circles close to the president" has recently been spread in public about Slovakia's possible division into eastern and western autonomous

political-economic units. In Friday's [7 December] "Events and Commentaries" program on television, Czech Prime Minister Pithart complained about the present difficulties of our two-part federation "which is without analogy in the world." At the same time he hinted at the possibility of some kind of a "union solution" [spolkove resenie], which he supposedly prefers not to bring up for the time being. President Havel was more talkative. Asked in the Friday issue of LIDOVE NOVINY whether he could think of any constitutional arrangement of the state differing from the present one, he replied: "The idea has been floated, for example, of a union-type arrangement, in which Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and, perhaps, the capital of Prague would be the union lands [spolkove krajiny], and then in Slovakia there would be separate West and East Slovakia, for the latter demonstrably has a different mental identity from the former and, in particular, from Bratislava."

The above solution provides for the extinction of the federation of two republics and foresees the establishment of a union-type system consisting of five to six union lands. Such a constitutional arrangement of the state would practically mean the extinction of the Slovak Republic. Slovakia would lose its single political representation, government, and parliament and would be deprived of its sovereignty as a republic. Czechoslovak central bodies would no longer consist of representatives of two equal national republics and would be elected by the residents of union lands, two of which would represent the former Slovak Republic. Such a solution would undeniably be welcomed by certain Prague political circles which cannot become reconciled to a situation when the political representation of the Slovak Republic emphatically defends the interests of its citizens in the federation.

Slovakia To 'Tailor' Federal Reform Concept

AU1812130990 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Dec 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Slovak Republic Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by an unidentified reporter; in Prague on 12 December, after the adoption of the law on division of powers: "Start With New Powers"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [NARODNA OBRODA] Your government is now endowed with powers which it has been seeking since July. Could you briefly sketch what your first steps with these new powers will be?

[Meciar] Our government not only acquired powers but also the duty to behave in a certain way. First and foremost, the need arises from the new powers for us to change the concept of the Slovak economy. In other words, we are going to have different concepts. This applies, in particular, to mining and metallurgy and we will also proceed differently in protecting the environment. We will be creating a different social net for those who are expected to get into difficulties. I believe that the economic reform in the form in which it is being presented to us [by the federal bodies] is incomplete. It represents merely the change of certain value and market relations from the viewpoint of monetarism. Apart from enforcing the economic reform, we must create a social net that is tailored to Slovakia's needs. If we did not do this, social discontent could sweep the economic reform in its present form away. The changes which this could bring about in policy might lead to wage increases and social concessions, which would mean the Polish path.

Ministry Statement on Unemployment in Slovakia

AU1812125790 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Dec 90 p 2

[Statement by Lubica Gajdosova, official of the Slovak Republic Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs: "Unemployment in the Slovak Republic"]

[Text] Over the 11 months of this year, the district national committee labor departments or, as the case may be, the gradually organized labor offices, in the Slovak Republic recorded 46,260 job applicants—32,370 of them, i.e., 1.1 percent of all citizens with permanent residence in the Slovak Republic.

The dynamics of unemployment growth, however, slowed down moderately in the Slovak Republic during November. The fastest growth of unemployment was recorded in October, when the number of unemployed increased by 7,800 people (in September by 6,600 people, in November by 5,200 people).

We expect that by the end of the year the number of unemployed on record at the labor offices in the Slovak Republic will not exceed 40,000 people, i.e., 1.3 percent. One can expect, however, a substantial increase in the number of unemployed during the first months of next year with the result that during the year the unemployment rate in the Slovak Republic will fluctuate about five percent, in absolute terms, approximately 150,000 people in the productive age.

Considered regionally, 41.3 percent of the total number of unemployed—job seekers in the Slovak Republic at the end of November—were in the East Slovak region and that represents a substantially higher unemployment rate (1.6 percent of the population of working age living in this territory) than the Slovak- wide average. The unemployment rate in Bratislava reached 0.7 percent, in West and Central Slovakia 0.9 percent.

More than one-half of the unemployed are women. There were 17,236 of them. Thus the unemployment rate for women reached 1.2 percent of the number of women of working age, i.e., women between 15 and 54 years of age. Relatively the highest number of unemployed women live in Bratislava (64 percent), the lowest number of unemployed women live in East Slovakia (46 percent).

Some 7,699 unemployed Romany citizens represent 23.8 percent of the total number of unemployed which, compared to data from the end of October, represents a further rise (22.0 percent). With respect to the approximately five-percent share of Romanies in the population

of the Slovak Republic, the unemployment of this group is almost five times higher than of the other citizens.

The number of unemployed school graduates remained unchanged from the October level, i.e., 5,891. Among unemployed school graduates, university graduates represent 19 percent, and all types of high-school graduates with senior matriculation 62 percent.

All registered job seekers, who satisfy the conditions specified in the applicable legal provisions, receive welfare payments from the Labor Offices. During the 11 months of this year, 27,042 unemployed were paid the total of 92.5 million korunas. In addition, the Labor Offices paid out to the unemployed various additional contributions the sum of 6.1 million korunas of which 5.6 million were child-support payments.

A comparison of the number of unemployed with the number of available jobs is puzzling. At the end of November, the Labor Offices in the Slovak Republic had only 16,040 available jobs on record—14,754 of them were labor jobs (at the same time, the number of unemployed laborers was 14,776) and 1,286 were other jobs (number of white-collar job seekers reached 17,594).

French Defense Minister Continues Visit

Meets With Antall

LD1812163990 Budapest MTI in English 1309 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 18 (MTI)—The government spokesman announces that Prime Minister Jozsef Antall has met the visiting French defence minister, Jean-Pierre Chevenement, in his parliamentary office.

The meeting was attended by Lajos Fur, minister of defence, and Pierre Brochand, French ambassador to Hungary.

Talks were held on issues concerning political cooperation and security in Europe, particularly the situation after the Paris summit on European security and cooperation.

Answering a question from the French minister, Antall outlined his government's position on security in East-Central Europe, as well as the future role and responsibility of European integrations.

Antall and Chevenement agreed that bilateral cooperation should also be intensified in the security policy area.

Discusses Military Issues With Fur

LD1812185190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] The French defense minister, who is at the moment holding an international news conference, has concluded his talks in Budapest. Jozsef Havel reports from the venue.

[Havel] French Defense Minister Jean-Pierre Chevenement who has been paying a two-day official visit to Hungary at the invitation of his colleague, Defense Minister Lajos Fur, held a news conference this evening. Prior to this the two ministers signed a joint statement in the cultural center of the Hungarian military. This statement announces exchanges of views between the two countries' ministries and high-ranking leaders, and regular expert-level consultations, and also says that the sides will work out a detailed and concrete military cooperation plan for several years.

At the news conference, Chevenement first stressed that the purpose of his visit was to establish close relations between the two armies. At his discussions with Lajos Fur, the minister pointed out, they reviewed issues such as the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, Hungary's leaving the WT, Warsaw Pact; accordingly, conditions should be created in Europe which will guarantee that people can live in peace and security, he said. In the course of the talks, they also dealt with issues of cooperation in military technology and military industry. Chevenement pointed out that the French side is already prepared to receive Hungarian officers for various courses. To the question of what the French minister thinks of relations between Hungary and NATO, Chevenement said that instead of establishing further blocs, a European security system should guarantee the peace of Europe.

Regarding the gulf crisis, the French minister took a stance for a peaceful solution. Owing to the oil price issue, a war would seriously hit both Hungary and France, the minister stressed.

Lajos Fur said at the news conference that the Warsaw Pact political consultative session in Budapest will be held soon, in January or February at the latest. The previous postponements were caused by technical reasons. No matter when this session takes place, Hungary's stance has not changed, stressed Lajos Fur. Our country will leave the Pact's military organization at the end of 1991.

Hungarian Germans Back Antall; Make Demands

LD1612173490 Berlin ADN in German 1620 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest (ADN)—Geza Hambuch, secretary general of the Federation of Germans in Hungary, has called for support for the Antall government in the implementation of its political and economic reforms. He told over 400 delegates at the organization's congress in Budapest today that the democratic changes in the country also benefit the Germans.

Nonetheless, there are still many problems to be solved before one can speak of true equal rights. The main problem remains teaching Germans in their mother tongue. There is a particular lack of well-educated teachers and teaching material. In this connection the speaker paid tribute to the support given by the Federal Government, which annually makes available over 4 million marks for training young specialists and for educational materials.

"The around 200,000 Germans living in Hungary feel themselves to be citizens of the country and want good relations with everyone", Hambuch told ADN's Budapest correspondent. "But we also have our needs. They involve above all the adoption by parliament of a nationalities law for all minorities. That document must also rule on the rehabilitation of more than 65,000 Hungarian Germans who were deported to the Soviet Union in the years after the war, or who lost their property under the Stalinist regime. Further, we want at long last to have our own deputies who know our problems and who represent our interests."

'Blanket' Military Agreement Reached With Romania

LD1412210790 Budapest MTI in English 1830 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 14 (MTI)—According to a statement issued by the Hungarian Ministry of Defence, an agreement has been reached on the military relations between Hungary and Romania.

The statement refers to the talks between ministers of defence Lajos Fur of Hungary and Victor Stanculescu of Romania, held in Gyula, Hungary, and in Arad, Romania, in October, and to the talks between Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, chief of staff of the Hungarian Army, and Colonel General Vasile Ionel, secretary of state and chief of staff of the Romanian Army, held in Budapest. As a result of these meetings, an agreement was reached on cooperation between the two armies, and a blanket agreement on relations between the two ministries.

In the blanket agreement, the ministers set down, among others, that the armies play a stabilizing role in the shaping of good-neighbourly relations, thus making it possible to develop relations between the two armies, thereby contributing to intensifying mutual confidence between the two countries and the two peoples.

The agreement makes it possible to become mutually familiarized with the national military doctrines. It envisages the visits of various level delegations, setting up cooperation joint committees, including between the commands of higher units of the chief of staff, air defence and air force, and border-zone land units. A joint work committee will also be set up to head the military forces involved in eliminating the consequences of a possible natural or industrial catastrophe.

It includes invitations for chief of staff, army, army corps level, and border-zone army and army division exercises, border-zone signal corps and other tactical exercises, unit and sub-unit level sharp-shooting exercises and the mutual visits of the two armies, Danube fleets.

The document also provides for mutual visits in the training centres, military secondary schools and colleges and academies. It makes it possible for troops stationed in the border zones to create fraternal contacts in the interest of reciprocal acquaintance and upholding good-neighbourly friendship.

The document promotes the intensification of scientific cooperation between the two armies, for instance, information exchange between military historians, the deepening of scientific-historical research about events which are evaluated differently by the two peoples. It envisages setting up joint groups to foster historical monuments on the areas of the two countries.

The chiefs of staff specially detail the naitonal holidays and army days, including festive meetings, the obligation to organize scientific conferences and exhibitions, as well as placing wreaths at the historical shrines and each other's monuments.

Federation of Romanians Established in Gyula

LD1612184290 Budapest MTI in English 1637 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 16 (MTI) - The autonomous, grass-root, Federation of Romanians in Hungary, which represents the interests of all ethnic Romanians living in Hungary, was set up in Gyula on Sunday.

The country's political relations have undergone fundamental changes since the last Congress of the Romanians in Hungary, held two years ago. Therefore, it has been increasingly demanded since this summer for the Democratic Federation of Romanians in Hungary to be transformed into a genuinely democratic minority interest representation and local government organization, adapting to the new conditions.

The membership of the new organization consists of members of the local organizations, and legal entities. The Federation of Romanians in Hungary strives to serve the interests of the some 20,000 ethnic Romanians in Hungary as a mass movement, rather than as a party.

Press Agency Agreement Signed With Estonia

LD1812190190 Budapest MTI in English 1804 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 18 (MTI)—The Hungarian news agency MTI and the Estonian news agency ETA concluded a cooperation agreement in Budapest on Tuesday, on the mutual publication of news items of the two news agencies, including the reports of the Baltic Information Union.

This is the first cooperation agreement to come about between MTI and a member republic of the Soviet Union.

The document was signed by Otto Oltvanyi, director-general of MTI, and Aimar Jugaste, director of ETA.

Joint Talks Held With IMF on Financial Aid

Agreement Seen Within Reach

AU1412110990 Budapest MTI in English 1427 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, 12 December (MTI)—The Hungarian Government and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are shortly to conclude a three-year, stand-by agreement, Gyorgy Suranyi, chairman of the National Bank of Hungary (NBH), confirmed at a press conference in Budapest on Wednesday.

Suranyi said that the agreement, which can be signed once parliament has approved the state budget, stipulates a $1,200 million current account deficit and a 78,000 million forint budget deficit for next year.

The agreement also includes a further cut in central budget subsidies, additional liberalization of prices and imports, the acceleration of the privatization process, and the promotion of foreign working capital investment.

As a step toward the convertibility of the forint, the central bank intends to establish a limited inter-bank foreign exchange market next year, where commercial

banks can buy and sell foreign exchanges, with exchange rates fluctuating within certain limits. Moreover, Hungarian companies will be allowed to import for forints, provided the foreign supplier accepts forint payment.

Also from 1 January, Hungarian commercial banks will be authorized to raise loans on international markets, and Hungarian companies can accept supplier credits.

The monetary policy of the central bank will invariably be aimed at maintaining the country's solvency, breaking down inflation, and invigorating business activity, Suranyi stressed.

Suranyi said that owing to the oil price rises, the collapse of CEMA trade, and the switch-over from rouble to dollar accounting, Hungary will suffer a loss of about $2,000 million next year, equivalent to 6 percent of the GDP.

This loss cannot be financed from domestic sources, and half of the amount will have to be found externally.

Suranyi added that the convertible current account is expected to show a zero balance by the end of this year, as against a $1,500 million deficit in 1989, and the growth of foreign indebtedness of the country could be stopped.

Convertible trade is to show a $1,000 million surplus after the $540 million surplus last year, while the tourism surplus will reach $400 million, as compared to a $400 million deficit in 1989.

Contrary to the favourable external balances, inflation has shot way over the 20 percent target, and will reach about 28 percent by the end of December, as against 17 percent last year.

According to the analysis of the central bank, the acceleration in consumer price inflation is due to unjustified wage increases, the low savings rate amidst inflationary expectations, and the lack of market competition.

As a consequence of sharp price increases, mainly in the field of energy, inflation is expected to soar early next year, but will then stabilize at a level of 34-36 percent.

National Bank Anticipates Loan

LD1712183490 Budapest MTI in English 1659 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 17, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungary stands to receive 1 billion U.S. dollars in credit from the International Monetary Fund in 1991, Gyorgy Suranyi, president of the National Bank of Hungary (NBH), told MTI on Monday. Mr. Suranyi said that the credit is subject, firstly, to the IMF board and the Hungarian Government finalizing the preliminary agreement prepared by experts from the IMF and the NBH, and, secondly, to parliament approving the key targets of next year's state budget. The talks between the NBH and a delegation from the IMF ended in Budapest at the weekend.

According to the NBH president, the IMF is adamant on two points: that the state budget deficit does not exceed 78 billion forints next year, and that the current account deficit is kept below 1.2 billion U.S. dollars.

The three-year agreement with the IMF is linked to the government's three-year economic programme designed to create a market economy. The IMF is advising Hungary to press on with large-scale privatisation and the liberalization of prices, wages and imports.

Jeszenszky Queried on National Minorities Issue

AU1712150790 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Arato in Budapest on 11 December: "We Will Not Turn to the United Nations"; first two paragraphs are MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] A Pentagonal roundtable meeting on the situation of language minorities is currently being organized in Budapest. On 11 December, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky received the participants of this roundtable. Following his speech to the delegates, Jeszenszky granted an interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP, where he stated that the Hungarian Foreign Ministry was not planning to turn to the United Nations to ask for advice about the national minority issue.

Jeszenszky told the Austrian, Italian, Yugoslav, Czechoslovak, and Hungarian journalists, as well as experts dealing with mass media communication, that the media could play a very important role in informing people about the national minority problems of our region, or even in solving these problems. Maybe problems would not be coming to the surface with such elementary force at the moment if they had not been swept under the carpet for 40 years, or if the mass media had not hushed these problems up completely. Geza Jeszenszky stressed that, of course, dramatizing is just as detrimental as concealing. By teaching us to be tolerant and to understand others, the media could play quite an important role in helping our region overcome this delicate problem.

[Arato] What was the point in organizing a conference on language minorities within the framework of the Pentagonal?

[Jeszenszky] The Pentagonal's aims are primarily economic. The five member countries of the Pentagonal cooperate so that, in this region that has been economically fragmented—particularly since World War I—the concept of cooperation can replace economic rivalry, economic nationalism, and individual efforts to find a solution. At the same time, in a number of other areas—in transport and culture, and so on—the Pentagonal plays a kind of consolidating and integrating role. That could also apply to the issue of national minorities. Bilateral negotiations cannot be neglected, but these negotiations are always marked by elements of prestige; the negotiating parties aspire to "please" their own

public opinion at home. It is always more difficult to reach an agreement in bilateral negotiations.

Today's edition of your newspaper carries a report on the Pentagonal roundtable negotiations, and this report mentions the Italian-Austrian solution. South Tyrol is an excellent example of how two states can satisfactorily solve their problems through international mediation. International experience shows that issues that cannot be solved between two states, or which can only be settled with difficulty, are easier to solve if three or five states are involved; these problems are more easily solved within an international framework.

[Arato] Can we see the Austrian-Italian solution to the national minority problem as an example?

[Jeszenszky] Each solution has its own local aspects, but the example of South Tyrol could really be followed. The situation is familiar: There is a German-speaking national minority living in Italy, and the mother-country of this minority lies on the Austrian side of the border. The two states have been able to settle the rights of this national minority, albeit with external mediation. I think that this example could be followed in the case of Hungarian minorities abroad.

[Arato] When trying to solve the national minority problem of South Tyrol, Austria even turned to the United Nations for advice. Would the Hungarian Foreign Ministry perhaps also take such a step for the sake of the largest Hungarian minority group outside our country?

[Jeszenszky] Both in geographical terms and from the point of view of dimension, the United Nations is a forum that is too far away from us; we cannot present the United Nations with this specifically Central European problem. We do not plan to take any such measure. If there should ever be any need for mediation, the Pentagonal—or, within a larger framework, the Council of Europe—could act as an appropriate go-between.

Industry Minister on Government Changes, Economy

AU1812083190 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 10 Dec 90 p 5

[Interview with Industry and Trade Minister Peter Akos Bod by Tibor Flanek; place and date not given: "A Divided Country"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Excerpts] There are a lot of rumors in connection with the upcoming government reshuffle. Peter Akos Bod's name is also mentioned in various connections.

[Flanek] Mr. Bod, is there any truth to the rumors about your taking over the leadership of a new economic ministry?

[Bod] I have not been dealing with any rumors in recent weeks because I have had enough to do. [passage omitted]

[Flanek] In your opinion, will the expected government reshuffle affect you in any way?

[Bod] Probably not. Besides, I do not think about this while doing my job. [passage omitted]

[Flanek] In your opinion, where does the government stand in its economic policy?

[Bod] The economic policy of the new Hungarian Government took shape between the summer of 1989 and the summer of 1990. The economic program of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], the strongest party in the government, was issued in the autumn of 1989. The election campaign was based on this program and, once the government was elected, independent economists also joined the team, and a period of coordination began. By the end of August this year, a new situation emerged. The increase in energy prices and the loss of the Iraqi market added to the prevailing economic shock. The Iraqi invasion led to the paralysis of Hungarian foreign trade in Kuwait, in addition to the loss in the exports of a few hundred Ikarus-buses to the area. We did not have economic contacts with Saudi Arabia; therefore, all our trade in the area was concentrated in Kuwait.

The foreign conditions have somewhat thwarted the three-year economic program and the one-year accelerated economic program of the Hungarian Government. The government team in charge of working out a three-year economic program must now also deal with crisis management.

[Flanek] The opposition parties strongly criticize this. They lack the concrete steps and the foundations for advancement.

[Bod] That was true in the summer, when the first program declaration of the new government was issued, a program which was rather a declaration of intentions containing few figures. The government then promised to come up with a detailed program, but everything was delayed because of the changes in the economic situation in the autumn months and the difficulties in restarting the state administration system; however, the three-year program, which the National Assembly deputies will receive for information, is already formulated, and a professional and public debate will obviously ensue. [passage omitted]

FKgP Official Interviewed on Internal Conflicts

AU1712150990 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 Dec 90 pp 1,5

[Interview with Sandor Olah, deputy parliamentary faction leader of the Independent Smallholders' Party, by Zoltan Lovas; place and date not given: "Fundamental Differences Between the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Smallholders"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] Both government and opposition party leaders are feverishly trying to analyze what would happen if the parliamentary faction of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP] were to split in two because of differing principles, or because of disagreements on whether the faction should remain loyal to the authorities. "What will happen at the party's presidium meeting on 14 and 15 December?"—that is the question on the minds of people who depend on the support of this party. We tried to receive an answer from Sandor Olah.

[Lovas] As far as I know, in mid-April 1990, when the first coalition negotiations were held between the leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and Jozsef Ferenc Nagy and Jozsef Torgyan from the FKgP, the two FKgP officials undertook to "discourage" their party from demanding the return of 1947 land ownership conditions, and from urging extensive privatization schemes. According to my sources, Nagy and Torgyan should have gradually "impressed" this upon the political committee of the FKgP within the space of a few weeks. Rumors have it that Nagy and Torgyan failed to fulfill this task, and the tensions within the FKgP ultimately stem from this incident....

[Olah] What you are saying is new to me, to a certain extent. I do not know of any such negotiations, and particularly not of any such agreement. We suspect that certain concrete steps were taken, which differed from the party line advocated by some FKgP leaders. Having examined these individual efforts, the FKgP clearly sees that it would still be possible to implement our program today, and we also know the requirements for the implementation of our program. If anyone has followed an individual, scheming policy that goes against the party line, then that person will have to account for the perceptible results of this individual policy at our presidium meeting. The national organization of the party and the party members are prepared for this calling to account.

[Lovas] If parliamentary elections were organized in the near future, the FKgP would probably not be voted into parliament. Many people say that your party actually consists of the 44 people who are seated in the parliamentary faction of the FKgP.

[Olah] There is a difference between the situation in Budapest and the national situation. Without a doubt, it is the 44 parliamentary faction members who appear in public. It cannot be denied that the central leadership of the party and the party apparatus have almost been dissolved. The party has destroyed itself; however, our delegates and nominating committee members at the party presidium were elected by the county organizations under democratic circumstances. Furthermore, despite certain manipulative efforts, I declare that the party presidium is going to reflect the membership of the party! At county meetings I have noticed that, as far as its membership is concerned, the party is as strong as it used to be. The atmosphere has become more bitter; however, that is the result of politics. Furthermore, in many cases, it is not even to be blamed on the policies of the FKgP. [passage omitted]

[Lovas] Let us look at things pragmatically: Are you going to remain in the coalition, or are you going to leave?

[Olah] The answer is that we will stay, but under certain conditions! In parliament, a situation has developed whereby even a minority government could survive in the National Assembly. Indeed, the current opposition has declared that it does not want to topple the government. The standpoint of the FKgP, therefore, cannot really influence the government.

[Lovas] That is the what happens if you remain in the coalition. If a minority government were formed between the MDF and the Christian Democratic People's Party, however, would you be able to strongly influence the government from the outside, by casting a supporting vote from time to time?

[Olah] You have understood the matter correctly. The FKgP has to decide why it is a member of the coalition. National interests are the most important, of course, but there are also party interests. It is not shameful to admit that we have party interests, as well, and we want to defend these interests. In the case of party interests, we have to set a time limit, and we have to state in advance that if our ideas are not fulfilled, then the FKgP will take certain countermeasures. [passage omitted]

FIDESZ Member on Outcome of Party Congress

AU1812091390 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Dec 90 p 4

[Interview with Tamas Tirts, parliamentary representative of the Federation of Young Democrats, by Farkas; place and date not given: "Signs of 'Smallholder' Attitudes"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Upon MAGYAR HIRLAP's request, Tamas Tirts agreed to summarize the contents of the two-day congress held this weekend by the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] in Szeged.

[Farkas] How do you view the work of the Szeged congress? Personally, I found the debates a little bit intensive. This can mainly be explained by the fact that it was necessary to clear the animosity that had grown within the Budapest section of the FIDESZ. That was probably also what you were referring to when your name was put forward as a candidate for the leadership of the party: You stated that "signs of disintegration were to be witnessed within the FIDESZ."

[Tirts] To be honest, this year, we have constantly had to struggle with the elaboration of our new statutes, and we have tried to make the organizational structure of our party operable; this has taken up most of the time allocated for the three rounds of our congress.

Now we have gone beyond the stage of accepting the statutes of our organization; however that cannot be the basis of complete contentment, because there are still a lot of small inaccuracies in the new statutes [szmsz]. Furthermore, we have to realize that an organization does not function well just because it has statutes. Our problems in Budapest were not solved, and some of the representatives of the national council and of the former party leadership may have gone beyond their sphere of authority by interfering in the matters of the Budapest section. In that respect, the well-known FIDESZ slogan—"Expertise rather than prestige principles!"—suffered a little bit. So, the respect of prestige principles is not accepted within the FIDESZ, yet it does sometimes happen that prestige principles are taken into account. I think that the FIDESZ opposition—a part of the Budapest section which has so-called grass-roots democracy allegiances—now and again rebelled quite rightly against this practice, but the means used by this group to register its protest were unacceptable. The Szeged congress only partially eased these tensions. I hope, however, that the newly elected body of the party will include people who will try to progress through their work by trying to solve problems; I hope that these people will not take old grudges into their new functions. Indeed, if these people still bear grudges, then there is a danger that the new bodies will cease to work after a while, and that existing signs of "smallholder" attitudes will become a permanent feature within the FIDESZ.

[Farkas] Could there be any reconciliation between the people who think in terms of "movement" or "party"?

[Tirts] One of the FIDESZ's problems is that the disputes that are going on in our movement are not based on classical ideological platforms, but on personal issues, and during the congress debate, Klara Ungar noted that there were battles raging for certain levels of power. I think that these internal disputes should be stopped. The fact that new bodies were established at the congress may help put an end to disputes. The setting up of these new bodies should lead to the handling of tasks which previously burdened the leadership of the party quite unnecessarily. That is one of the reasons why I have high expectations from the establishment of both the audit committee and the ethics committee. Furthermore, there will evidently be greater cooperation between the parliamentary faction, the party leadership, and the national council, because the new statutes determine their respective spheres of authority more clearly than before.

[Farkas] How do you view the current position of the FIDESZ, and the party's relations with other parliamentary parties?

[Tirts] I think that our relations with other parties are determined on the basis of the political behavior of our parliamentary faction, of our party leadership, and of the majority within the FIDESZ. That also applies to our currently much debated relations with the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. I think that, to this very day, it can clearly be seen that it is not our intention to think along bipolar domestic political lines, along two-sided lines, or in terms of SZDSZ versus Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. Personally, I think that this is a very important question as far as future trends are concerned: Will there really be a government made up of a strong group of government parties, and a powerful group of opposition parties facing this government?

[Farkas] Nevertheless, until then, it is very important for the FIDESZ to occasionally clear up its relations with the two big parties. Will the FIDESZ be able to remain equidistant from the MDF and the SZDSZ?

[Tirts] The FIDESZ is an opposition party, so it is evident that it stands closer to the SZDSZ; however, both our strategies and our attitudes show that there is a difference between the SZDSZ and the FIDESZ.

[Farkas] This implies that there is no truth behind the assumptions claiming that the FIDESZ is growing closer to the MDF, and that the FIDESZ would perhaps even be prepared to join the government.

[Tirts] Even at the Szeged congress, several criticisms were raised about the work of the Antall government. Any assumption claiming that the FIDESZ might join the government is false. This topic has never been broached at any of our parliamentary faction meetings; therefore, explanations claiming that the distancing of the FIDESZ from the SZDSZ signals a rapprochement between the FIDESZ and the MDF are unacceptable.

Environment Minister on Conflicts, Nagymaros

AU1712145990 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Dec 90 p 7

[Interview with Environmental Issues Minister Sandor K. Keresztes by Agnes Federer; place and date not given: "In Principle, Every Minister Can Expect Dismissal"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] In recent times, few ministers have been criticized as fiercely as Sandor Keresztes. That is why we called him to account in public. We also asked him to tell us how he foresees the future.

[Federer] Mr. Keresztes, how have your last few months been?

[Keresztes] They have been difficult. In principle, it was easy to see what had to be created or changed, but I did not expect that these measures would upset the prestige of some many people, or that so many people would be hurt. Furthermore, I was completely surprised to find that there was such a complicated system of lobbying in the field of environmental protection and nature protection, although it is true that I was not familiar with every aspect of this field. I can say, therefore, that I stirred up a hornet's nest. I thought that we would be able to start off with a new ministry by September; now, I would be happy if we could actually start working on 1 January.

[Federer] Perhaps that is the reason why many people think that Hungary has not progressed one inch in the area of environmental protection....

[Keresztes] That remark is correct, because during the restructuring phase, the ministry did little professional work at all. That was not because the minister and the experts employed here are incapable of working, but because we have to build the engine first, so that the machinery can start running.

[Federer] Almost everyone objected to the previous structure of the ministry, where water affairs were linked to environmental protection. What do you think of the ministry's current structure?

[Keresztes] I would like to correct a misunderstanding: It was not the building industry that was brought into this ministry, but the management of housing and construction planning. In other words, the ministry will decide how our towns, squares, and environment will look, a decision which was always taken by environmentalists. This new structure is preferable in every way.

[Federer] If we were to mention the Danube, then we would immediately think of the Bos-Nagymaros project. What could you do to speed up the handling of this case?

[Keresztes] Unfortunately, negotiations are at a deadlock at a government commissioner level; a stalemate developed with the Czechoslovak side a long time ago. The reason for this is that Czechoslovakia has not reached a final decision on the future of the Bos project. At this stage, we can do nothing but wait, and prepare for negotiations. Many people do not realize how dangerous that is. If there is a flood wave in spring, the Nagymaros dam could be washed away. That section of the Danube would become unnavigable.

[Federer] Gyorgy Szanto, the head of the government commissioner's secretariat for the Danube water barrage, was recently dismissed. At the time, he stated that there were serious conceptual differences between the two of you on this issue. What is the actual truth?

[Keresztes] Mr. Szanto is very much responsible for the fact that no reasonable proposal has yet been submitted on how we could calmly close this issue. Mr. Szanto presented a brilliant analysis of the mistakes made by the Oviber firm, but he did not do much else. Incidentally, no one in Hungary would dare to elaborate some kind of a compromise solution, because they would immediately be labelled a traitor. We can refuse to build Nagymaros, but we cannot demolish Bos, if you see what I mean. We have to negotiate; in fact, we have to negotiate urgently. There is no guarantee, either, that the environment can be perfectly restored in the area of Nagymaros. Hundreds of environmental studies and ecological estimates are being made, but these studies reveal practically nothing.

[Federer] In recent times, the atmosphere has turned quite sour around you. For example, Andras Janosi, who was mentioned in the press as your personal adviser, has resigned.

[Keresztes] When I took office, Janosi volunteered to help me with his calculations and estimates, particularly in the case of the Bos-Nagymaros project. Janosi is a man of good intentions, a "fanatic," a man who knows a lot, and who has been on leave without pay for a year to devote all his time to his studies. He has provided us with a lot of information, but he did overstep the mark a little bit. For example, he delivered a speech in my name in front of parliament's expert committee—he had no authorization to do so—he wanted to look into secret documents, and when we made a decision that did not suit him, he "resigned." That was how our ways parted, but we agreed that we would still be pleased to accept his proposals in future, of course.

[Federer] It has also been rumored that the national environmental committee of the Hungarian Democratic Forum has submitted a no-confidence motion against you.

[Keresztes] Well, yes, they have prepared a memo in which they object to the agreement that we have reached with the Ministry for Water Affairs. They see this agreement as disadvantageous for us. This memo also says that "this affair will have personal repercussions."

[Federer] After all that, what chances do you think you will stand when the government is reshuffled?

[Keresztes] In principle, every minister can expect dismissal. For now, I will continue to go about my business, and we will soon find out what the decision is....

Government Issues Report on Assets Policy

LD1812133490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0820 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Minister Without Portfolio Ferenc Madl presents government bill on 1991 policy guidelines for assets to the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, Esteemed National Assembly. The government, in harmony with the stipulations of Clause 34 of Law No. 7 of 1990 on the State Assets Agency, has submitted to the Esteemed House the draft assets policy guidelines for 1991. In this report, instead of a giving a detailed and itemized account of the guidelines, I shall only deal with the most important issues.

First, although the quoted law sets the contents and scope for maneuver of the assets policy guidelines in a rather rigorous manner, the government considers it necessary that this document—in connection with the state's producing assets—should give emphasis to some principles and considerations which are of basic importance from the viewpoint of assets policy overall. First and foremost, the primary objective of the privatization process is that what earlier was state property should function as effectively as possible, as a result of the

ownership change. The ownership change should be accomplished through privatization and not reprivatization, or the redistribution of state assets. The transformation of the economy's ownership structure should be accomplished through a privatization which is organized on a market basis and takes market laws into account, and in the course of this there should be attempts to use privatization methods which promote an acquisition of preperty by a wide range of investors.

The question necessarily arises: What, where, and how much does the government wish to privatize? It is difficult to give an all-encompassing reply to the question. We can state precisely which are the businesses which we wish to place in the hands of genuine, lasting owners, in the framework of the pre-privatization program. We can also make statements that in the framework of the so-called active programs in 1991 we shall launch the privatization of some 100 large state enterprises. We only have estimates on the sphere which will be encompassed by the spontaneous privatization—to use a widespread term—which is initiated by the enterprises, in the year ahead. We trust that the international financial interest in Hungarian privatization will continue, that the balance of the world economy will not be upset by the Middle East events, and that efforts at overcoming internal uncertainties and difficulties will yield results. In that case, we can be certain that the impetus of the process this year will not come to a halt next year, and that similarly to this year, at least 200 self-privatization transactions might be conducted in the Hungarian economy overall, especially in the processing industry sector. The impact and range of the new privatization which will be institutionalized and announced in the near future, privatization which is initiated by the purchaser and the program for shares- purchases by employees, are still difficult to express in figures at present. Its expected transformations is also determined by the various foreign and internal economic conditions, by confidence in the Hungarian economy. The fate of landed property, its final settlement, is still in question, too.

Taking all this into account, we can consider it probable that the privatization process in 1991 might affect some 300-400 Hungarian enterprises, to a value of 400-500 billion forints. This represents about 20 percent of the state's producing assets. It might, therefore, become a point of departure for a very considerable transformation which has an impact on all of the economy, ranging from hotel industry enterprises, through the construction industry to the machine-manufacturing large enterprises. If we add to this the expected results of pre-privatization, which will extent to several hundred, or even perhaps 1,000, business units, then it will be possible to give an account at the end of next year of considerable developments.

There is one circumstance, however, to which I would like to call the attention of the Esteemed National Assembly. As I mentioned, privatization will be able to increase efficiency, to force the necessary changes in the direction of strengthening competitiveness, only if it can take place amid genuine market conditions, without administrative, autocratic intervention. It is expedient, therefore, to avoid specific plans, administrative stipulations for enterprise conversions, for the conducting of them through administrative direction. This would necessarily lead to a repetition of the earlier pitfalls of the planned economy, to an underpriced sale of national assets, and to their irresponsible squandering.

There, of course, might be a place for state intervention, or occasional coercion, in certain strategic points. For example, we cannot relinquish this in the case of winding up monopolies or the appearance of certain national (?interests) of strategic importance. It is expedient to conduct privatization overall in solely a market manner, as a balance of supply and demand.

The same principle applies to the relationship between the draft submitted to parliament recently, the compensation law serving a settlement of property relations, and privatization. The necessity, the range and amount of compensation is basically a political issue, and stemming from its nature it cannot be quantified in advance. On the basis of the various government organs, we can have no doubt that it is a problem of a societal scale which cannot be left unanswered, even within the framework of privatization.

There undoubtedly exists a contradiction between the uncertainty of the economic impacts and the need for response. The sole sensible solution is if the legal regulation itself contains all the guarantees that extend between uncertainties regarding the amounts and the need for regulation. The government is of the view that the amount of inverse-proportionate compensation, the possibilities of regulatinin the circulation of compensation coupons, and a legally stipulated limit to the proportion of compensation coupons which can be utilized when purchasing one object of property could constitute a sensible means so that the market nature of the process is preserved without a drastic devaluation of the compensation coupons or without the price of property going up because of excessive demand.

Second, in the privatization process, it is necessary to try—in the framework of following the mentioned assets policy principles—to shape individual decisions in harmony with the opinions of the responsible ministries, employees, and enterprise management.

Third, the draft guidelines state as a requirement that in the privatization process, the Assets Agency must ensure that openness, clarity, and competition prevail. While at the same time respecting the confidential nature of these transactions, we consider the continuous enforcement of these requirements to be a matter of basic importance. We trust that, by giving continuous information to public opinion, the perceptible uncertainties, lack of information concerning privatization can be dispelled and the development on aggravation of groundless arguments can be partially prevented. For this reason, the State Assets Agency will issue a regular newsletter on its activity and will make use of numerous press forms in

order to give detailed information on the process of privatization and on some of its elements. It will extensively issue booklets with detailed information on the individual privatization programmes.

Fourth, the government considers an acceleration of the privatization process to be fundamental. It wishes to achieve this through various means. The State Assets Agency institutionalizes the possibility for privatization which is initiated by the purchaser. This means that investors—Hungarian and foreign investors alike—and private and legal entities, can initiate the purchase of state-owned enterprises or that these be put under their management. It broadens and expands the sphere of so-called active programs. According to our plans, three or four such programs are to be launched annually. One such program encompasses 25-30 enterprises, which constitutes on the average a privatization of 100 enterprises annually. It simplifies and accelerates the judicial procedures concerning privatization initiated by the enterprises. According to this, it issues general viewpoints for passing judgment. It improves the standard of information and servicing activity provided for the enterprises and investors.

Fifth, the draft guidelines provide practical viewpoints for the following in the legal regulation: They regulate the system of conditions for drawing under state administrative supervision the enterprises operating under self-government direction, under the management of an enterprise council, general assembly, or delegates' assembly. They lay down the requirements regarding the conversion of enterprises into companies, the sale of state assets, and assets- handling. The majority of these, in essence, tally with the stipulations of the guidelines for 1990.

For this reason, I will deal now with only two issues. One is that the draft approaches the sale of state assets to foreigners with a different attitude from that of the currently valid assets policy guidelines. The current regulation has a restrictive character. It contains rules which greatly restrict sales to foreigners.

Contrary to this, the draft takes the realities of Hungary's investment market as its point of departure. It regards a basic condition, from the viewpoint of the economy's modernization, to be the drawing in of foreign capital. We must not forget that the changes taking place in the former socialist countries very palpably strengthen the international competition to obtain unimpeded monetary means. Accordingly, the guidelines substantively narrow down the previous restrictions, and they state that the task of the Assets Agency is to facilitate this process, the process of drawing in foreign capital.

Instead of the previous restrictions and prohibitions, the draft in a set sphere—for example in the sphere of unique natural endowments, products which are especially Hungarian—stipulates that the interests of the nation's economy be taken more into account.

The draft assets policy guidelines, from amongst the future owners, deal particularly with employees. They regard the acquisition of property by employees to be one possible, but not the primary, means of privatization, taking into account that the concessions are aimed not at distributing the state enterprise assets but at boosting interestedness linked to privatization. Accordingly, the draft supports the acquisition of property by employees by means of concessions, and it provides directives for the Assets Agency regarding the maximum amount of concessions. This is especially important, because without this the concessions could diverge greatly and be granted on a random basis.

In conclusion, I shall speak briefly on the utilization of the Assets Agency's revenues. The utilization of a portion of the revenues is determined by the law. For example, the revenues stemming from sales financed by preferential credits, for example by so-called existence credits, will be used directly for repayment of the state debt. The self-governments and economic companies must be given back the proportion of revenues for which this is stipulated by the law or the agreement pertaining to the conversion. The basic aim for which the subsequently remaining revenues are utilized will be the repayment of state debts, while 15 percent of the revenues can be utilized for objectives serving to augment the national assets.

According to our plans, among the methods determined by the government there could be mention primarily of support for foreign investments and ventures in Hungary, of preparing enterprises prior to privatization, of promoting employment policy objectives, and of creating an intervention fund aimed at influencing the stock exchange's price movements.

In conclusion, I would like to give the information that the State Assets Agency coordinated the draft assets policy guidelines with the members of the Interest Coordinating Council. It emerged during the process of coordination that the Interest Coordinating Council. It emerged during the process of coordination that the Interest Coordinating Council demanded much wider-ranging, extended licenses regarding the privatization process overall, more than what the State Assets Agency conceived of on the basis of the stipulation in point 3/I of the assets policy guidelines. As a result of the coordinating process, an agreement was reached that in the future the guidelines for the so-called active programs conducted by the Assets Agency would be coordinated by the agency at the national branch levels with competent representatives from the interest representation organs. An agreement was also reached that a joint directive would be worked out between representatives of the State Assets Agency and the Interest Cordination Council on regulations concerning the enterprise-level coordination of the privatization processes, and also that in connection with concessions to be given to workers, normative rules would be jointly determined amidst the frameworks of assets policy guidelines. Experts from the State Assets Agency have already sought out the representatives delegated by the Interest Coordinating Council. I trust that a solution will be found in the

emerging working relationship which, without a substantive restriction of responsible decisionmaking by proprietors, ensures a possible asertion of employees' interests.

I also ask that, in accordance with one of the remarks that was voiced at the session of the Economic Committee, the Esteemed National Assembly should agree to modification in form of the text in the second paragraph of Point 4 of the assets policy guidelines. According to the paragraph the self-governments and the companies formed out of state enterprises must be given back the portion of revenues for which this is stipulated by the law or the agreement pertaining to the method of conversion. The modification would make it more specific that the agreement could be a more favorable accord made, prior to the adoption of the currently valid text of the conversion law, which is more favorable than that concluded by the State Assets Agency or that which is stipulated in point (?3/VI).

Esteemed Mr. Speaker, esteemed National Assembly, on behalf of government I ask you to discuss the assets policy guidelines for 1991, and after having discussed them, please to approve them. Thank you for your attention.

Small Businesses Flourishing Nationwide

AU1412111090 Budapest MTI in English 1102 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, 12 December (MTI-ECONEWS)—The increase in the number of small businesses in Hungary over the recent months has exceeded all expectations, the latest report of the Hungarian Statistical Office says.

Almost 12,000 new legal entities were registered in the first nine months of the year, most of them enterprises with low capital and a small workforce.

In addition, 11,000 private tradesmen took out business licences up to the middle of the year, most of them operating in the transport industry, while the number of those employed by private tradesmen and businesses grew by 10,000 over the period under survey.

A Central Statistical Office survey carried out in October found that output by small businesses represented 9 percent of total industrial output between January and September, compared to 6 percent in 1989, and this will probably rise further to nearly 12 percent by the end of the year.

Private business is strongest in the building industry, accounting for 40 percent of total output in the first half of 1990.

The Statistiical Office report concluded that although private business in industry and construction is growing steadily, the process has not yet reached the point where it can halt the economic recession.

Walesa Seeks To Form 'Government of Experts'

LD1812201890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] At the same time we received Jan Olszewski's statement, PAP quoted a statement by Andrzej Drzycimski, Lech Walesa's press spokesman. He states that the task of forming the new government is difficult, and consists largely of finding solutions between often contradictory directions and options. The president-elect wants the government to be not a party government, but a government of experts, consisting of young and energetic people.

Asked about nominees, the president-elect's press spokesman stated that the names Lech Walesa has already mentioned publicly, together with three more which have so far not been revealed, still remain valid. Andrzej Drzycimski also said that the program of the future government must be directed at economic activity. The president-elect has held consultations with representatives of political life, and among others with Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz.

Olszewski Negotiates New Government

AU1812211790 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 15-16 Dec 90 pp 1, 3

["(knysz, KL, WZ)"-signed report: "An Impatient Walesa?"]

[Text] We have learned unofficially from circles close to the president-elect in Gdansk and in Warsaw that Walesa has become very impatient about the slow progress in negotiations being conducted by Mr. Olszewski on the formation of a government.

It is even being said that the president-elect may entrust the mission to Jan Krzysztof Bielecki.

Apparently, Olszewski is experiencing particular problems in defining the role of Balcerowicz in a new government.

The proposal that Antoni Macierewicz of the Christian National Union should be entrusted with the post of minister of internal affairs continues to arouse a lot of controversy in the negotiations. In an interview recorded for Radio Free Europe on Friday, Deputy Stefan Niesiolowski of the Christian National Union said that the union hopes to receive two posts in the new government: Wieslaw Chrzanowski (deputy prime minister and justice minister) and Antoni Macierewicz (minister of internal affairs).

Although we still do not know the name of the man that Lech Walesa will entrust with the mission of forming a new government, the favorite remains Jan Olszewski.

Outside Friday's closed door meeting during which feverish negotiations were being conducted, it was being said that if Olszewski were to be defeated, his place would be taken by Deputy Jan Krzysztof Bielecki from Gdansk or Senate Marshal Andrzej Stelmachowski. It was also said that Citizens Committee Chairman Zdislaw Najder would be appointed deputy prime minister.

Jerzy Eysymontt, a Warsaw economist connected with the Center Accord, told us that there has been a clash between two concepts of the cabinet, between that of a "continuation government" and a "breakthrough government." The first, minimum option, envisages the retention of the present ministry structures until the parliamentary elections and the second envisages a reduction in the number of ministries, including the abolition of the ministries of industry and construction trade in favor of a single ministry for the economy. Some kind of compromise between the two is expected.

The Center's Glapinski, a member of the Warsaw branch of the Congress of Liberals, says that there is a 90-percent likelihood that Olszewski is a candidate for the post of prime minister and creator of a "(economic) breakthrough government." There is, however, a possibility that Walesa might nominate a "surprise prime minister" at the very last moment, and Glapinski called a Stelmachowski candidacy "press speculation."

Certain candidates to head economic ministries are Janusz Lewandowski of the Liberal Democratic Congress and the Center's Andrzej Machalski; one of them would become deputy prime minister with responsibility for coordinating economic matters in place of Leszek Balcerowicz.

Although it seems certain that an Olszewski government would to some extent continue to pursue a Balcerowicz program, there is still uncertainty about Balcerowicz's personal participation in the government. There are rumors that will he will be proposed for the post of minister of finance and will be placed under Lewandowski or Machalski (although there is no shortage of rumors that he will also be proposed for the office of prime minister).

It would appear that Balcerowicz will agree to neither of the two options and that in a new government he would want to remain vice prime minister responsible for coordinating the economy and head of the treasury, which is rejected by the Center and the Congress of Liberals.

According to Glapinski, Balcerowicz will definitely remain finance minister.

According to Balcerowicz's colleagues, Glapinski's statement only reflects his personal views. On the other hand, Balcerowicz himself has remained silent on the subject until now. Apparently, the deputy prime minister will finally make a statement on Wednesday.

Olszewski Abandons Government Formation

LD1812185990 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] At 1800 [1700 GMT] we received Jan Olszewski's statement. Here it is:

On 2 December I received written authorization from Lech Walesa to hold talks on the program and the composition of the new government. During the following two weeks I myself and others held preparatory talks. The result of these talks was the preparation of the main principles of the program as well as initial decisions on the future composition of the cabinet. Because of essential differences between the views of the president-elect and myself on the composition of the government, I today gave up the task I was charged with.

Presidential Insignia To Be Returned 22 Dec

LD1812204190 Warsaw PAP in English 1903 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 18—The press office of the Polish Senate informed PAP that a mission of Polish President in-Exile Ryszard Kaczorowski, residing in London, visiting Poland at the invitation forwarded by Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski, in agreement with the president-elect, held talks on December 17 and 18 with head of the chancellery of the president-elect Jacek Merkel on the principles and form of conveying to the newly elected president of the legal continuity of the 2nd republic and linked with it presidential insignia. The mission is composed of Zygmunt Szadkowski, chairman of the National Council and of Ryszard Zakrzewski, Jerzy Morawicz, Jerzy Zalewski—government ministers.

The talk, which passed in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and full understanding of the historical significance of the ceremony which is to take place on Saturday, were attended by the Senate speaker.

With the approval of both presidents sides agreed during the talks that:

—the ceremony of the conveying of presidential insignia will take place at the Royal Castle on December 22, 1990 at 16:00 hours,

—the ceremony's host will be speaker of the Senate, Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski,

—during the ceremony, the two presidents will sign two documents:

—document on the conveying and acceptance of presidential insignia,

—document on the continuation of activities of the National Council till the staging of democratic parliamentary elections in Poland.

—a mass, to be attended by the two presidents, will be celebrated at the St. John's Archcathedral Basilica directly after the ceremony,

—President Ryszard Kaczorowski, together with entourage, will fly to Poland on Saturday on board a special government plane and will be greeted by personal representatives of the president-elect and of the Senate speaker and received with honours proper to head of state.

During the talks, sides agreed that a gala meeting of representatives of political, social and cultural life of all the Polish emigre communities with President Lech Walesa, parliament government and Poland's entire society is to take place on May 3, 1991. Ryszard Kaczorowski is to be invited to that ceremony with due honours, reads the communique.

Speaker Comments on Senate's Importance, Future

LD1812131490 Warsaw PAP in English 1157 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 18: Will the Senate survive parliamentary elections, are we going to have a Senate of the 2nd term? This question was asked by PAP to Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski. Here is what he said:

"I can see no reason why the Senate should not survive?" Stelmachowski replied. "The Senate had existed in Poland over several hundred years and even if it was liquidated under communist rule, going back to those communist structures seems to be a weird idea."

"The fact that the Senate has restored its existence owing to the democratic wave is not only of symbolic but also of practical significance. We are simply restoring a certain control mechanism existing in a vast majority of states. Moreover, at the time of high liquidity of relations and political structures, with the lack of crystallized political parties, safety devices are even more needed. Strong presidency is, of course, one of them, but another one is the Senate.

"The present role of the Senate may change as now it is an urging body, while the Sejm is a body that slows things down, this being against all European traditions," Stelmachowski said.

RSW Liquidator Accepts Bids To Purchase Dailies

AU1812152690 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

[Tomasz Roguski report: "A Queue of Purchasers for ZYCIE WARSZAWY and EXPRESS WIECZORNY"]

[Text] The full list of all interested parties that have submitted tenders for the first two dailies to be sold off by the liquidator of the Workers Publishing Cooperative [RSW] is being kept secret until 18 December 1990. It is known, however, that the sale of ZYCIE WARSZAWY has attracted the following: "Zycie-Press," the National Chamber of Commerce and Robert Maxwell, "Interim," and separately, both a cooperative and a partnership set up by the employees of the newspaper. Among the firms interested in acquiring EXPRESS WIECZORNY is "Solidarity's" Press Foundation in Warsaw. The

opening bid price for ZYCIE WARSZAWY is 35 billion zlotys and 16 billion zlotys for EXPRESS WIECZORNY.

Kazimierz Woycicki, present editor in chief of ZYCIE WARSZAWY, and his deputy Tomasz Wolek are among the members of "Zycie-Press." The firm hopes to publish the newspaper as a joint venture with the backing of Italian capital. Nothing more about the tender is known other than the fact that Tomasz Wolek is a member of the Forum of the Democratic Right. The next contender—the Warsaw Publishing Company [WSW] and the British corporation Maxwell Communications—is represented by the National Chamber of Commerce. The main shareholders of the Warsaw Publishing Company are the following: the National Chamber of Commerce, the Confederation of Polish Employers, the Bank for Economic Initiatives, the Trade and Industrial Bank, and nine foreign trade enterprises, namely, Animex, Agpol, Agros, Elektrim, Handlomor, Metalexport, Rolimpex, Ciech, and Rolmex. The WSW founders have indicated their readiness to allow the newspaper's employees cooperative and the remaining members of the editorial team to join the consortium, as well as other institutions that represent the social and cultural milieus of Warsaw society. If the liquidating commission accepts their offer, WSW will form a joint venture with Maxwell Communications. It is anticipated that the Polish side will have 60 percent and the British side 40 percent of the shareholding.

The WSW has bound itself to preserve the present character of the newspaper and keep it independent of party political ties. Very broadly, the newspaper is to be pitched at the middle class readership. It is planned to increase the size of the paper by introducing new features, creating local sections, widespread computerization, and offset printing technology. The consortium is also interested in purchasing the newspaper's present printing works. WSW aims to create a financially and organizationally strong press group around the paper. Andrzej Arendarski, chairman of the National Chamber of Commerce, is heavilly involved and has links with the Liberal Democratic Congress.

Plans submitted by the firm "Interim," show that it would like to transform the newspaper into a joint stock company.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY is a daily of established tradition and enjoys the deserved respect of the public. It is a Polish paper and it should be owned by Polish society and not foreign capital and foreign political interests, stated "Interim" in its paid advertisement which appeared in RZECZOSPOLITA about three weeks ago.

The founders of the company to be set up would be the newspaper's past and present employees, provided that they had a minimum of five years employment with the paper. They would each have two shares that would give them privileged voting rights of five votes for each share held. In a public subscription, shares of a nominal of 1 million zlotys would be made available to the general public. About 250,000 shares would be issued and their subsequent disposal would be strictly controlled by statute. Journalists would remain totally independent, subject to the commercial exigencies of the market, stated "Interim" Chairman Cezary Wintorbski. He would not be drawn on to be the paper's future editor, because this will be a matter for the company itself. "Interim's" proposals are based on the economic concepts of Professor Rafal Krawczyk. Krawczyk was once an "Interim" member but sold his share on taking up an appointment to head the political campaign of Roman Bartoszcze.

The ZYCIE WARSZAWY Workers' Cooperative, as well as the "Dom Prasy" company are also bidding for the paper. The two were formed almost at the same time by the newspaper's staff. The cooperative consists of about 57 percent of all employees, including most of the paper's journalists. The cooperative believes that ZYCIE WARSZAWY is capable of surviving by itself and according to them the income generated should be sufficient for development and modernization. They promise to maintain the paper's present line and are opposed to a sell-off, especially to foreign capital.

Three competitors are bidding for EXPRESS WIECZORNY. Among these are the "Solidarity" Press Foundation in Warsaw and the United Amusements Enterprise. The EXPRESS Workers' Cooperative immediately began court proceedings when it learned of the government's decision to put the paper on the market. The "Solidarity" Press Foundation's aim is to create a publishing house. It already publishes a farmer's weekly entitled OBSERWATOR. If it is successful, it would also have the late afternoon paper EXPRESS WIECZORNY, as well as the EXPRESS PORANNY. They anticipate that the formula of the paper will change. The foundation is also interested in purchasing the newspaper's printing works. The capital for the purchase comes exclusively from within Poland. Three banks have offered to give the enterprise their financial backing. The foundation has guaranteed the jobs of all present staff. Last summer, Andrzej Buena, head of the paper, was tipped to be new editor in chief; now, however, Jacek Maziarski is thought to be the preferred choice.

Slawomir Siwek is chairman of the foundation. The foundation's council is composed of Bishops Tadeusz Goclowski and Roman Andrzejewski, and Krzysztof Czabanski and Maciej Zalewski. Jaroslaw Kaczynski, leader of Center Accord, is a member of the Foundation Board.

After the sale of ZYCIE WARSZAWY and EXPRESS WIECZORNY, and the 20 deficit-making newspapers, the RSW Liquidation Commission will invite tenders for 11 profit-generating regional dailies and weeklies. These include DZIENNIK BALTYCKI, SZTANDAR MLODYCH, GAZETA POZNANSKA, GLOS

PORANNY, and DZIENNIK LODZKI. The suggested bid prices will be from 500 million zlotys to 12 billion zlotys.

Minister Details Plans for Soviet Troop Transit

LD1812182290 Warsaw PAP in English 1650 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 18—About 1 million people, including 350 thousand Soviet troops and almost 150 thousand civilian employees, are to return, via Poland, to USSR in tune with the German-Soviet Treaty, Polish Vice-Minister of Transportation and Maritime Economy Witold Chodakiewicz told PAP today.

Chodakiewicz added that the Polish side offered far-reaching technical assistance in the time of the whole operation, during talks held in Warsaw recently.

Poland is ready to supply heavy-duty equipment and railway cars for the transportation of troops and military hardware. Polish authorities are reviewing the possibility of the use of the special rail route linking Katowice and Hrubieszow and taking advantage of a new border crossing station furnished with loading ramps and equipment necessary for the change of wheel tracks (the spacing of Soviet rails is wider than in Poland), said the vice-minister.

As far as the road transit is concerned, the only acceptable route is that linking the border town of Rosowko, near Kolbaskowo, north-western Poland, and the town of Braniewo, north-eastern Poland. The whole transit operation, planned to last for four years, must be preceded by appropriate engineering and road works.

All those works must be completed by September of next year. There will be less problems with the rail transit, we are already prepared to handle 8 to 12 military trains per 24 hours. As a matter of fact we have already handled 38 transit military trains bound for the USSR in tune with the international disarmament treaty. We expect to handle further 120 such trains still this year. In addition, each day two to three military trains with Soviet troops reach Braniewo from Czechoslovakia, said the vice-minister.

We expect that the signing with the Soviet Union of both treaties, one dealing with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland till the end of 1991 and the other with the transit of Soviet troops from Germany, planned for four years, will take place in January 1991, concluded Vice-Minister Chodakiewicz.

CSFR Postpones Opening of Joint Border

LD1812102790 Warsaw PAP in English 0953 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Prague, Dec 18—"If it had been only up to my counterpart Jiri Hrabovski and myself, the Polish-Czechoslovak border would have been open long ago because customs officers on both sides know well that there are no rational reasons why not to lift the barriers," head of the Main Customs Office Tomasz Bartoszewicz told PAP last Monday.

"But the decision belongs to the Czechoslovak Government which has divided opinions on that matter. As it seems the liquidation of the last European 'Iron Curtain' has become a bargaining chip within the Czechoslovak Government. The Polish side consistently makes no limitations whatsoever on border traffic and each Czechoslovak citizen may cross the Polish border any time he likes and stay as long as he wishes," Bartoszewicz stressed.

However, talks with leaders of the Czechoslovak customs authorities indicate that another date of opening the border (January 1, 1991) proposed by President Vaclav Havel will not be met again.

Revolution Anniversary Preparations Continue

Timisoara Protests Parliament Session

AU1812150090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Two texts were faxed from Timisoara to ROMPRES news agency last night. One of them is from the Timisoara Society and the other one the working collective of Timisoara Television.

These protests are in response to the proceedings of the joint meeting of the two chambers of Parliament and read as follows:

We are consternated by the attitude of the majority of Romania's Parliament at the 17 December 1990 commemorative meeting toward the proposal to adopt a decision with power of law that will prohibit any armed force and firing at unarmed demonstrators. The proposal was applauded only by the opposition. A year after the bullets of those in power swept away innocent people, we view this attitude as being at variance with the program and principles put forward in December 1989, the protest of Timisoara Society emphasizes.

The working collective of the Timisoara Television Studio views the speech made by Senator Radu Ceontea, representative of the Romanians' National Unity Party, at the festive Parliament meeting yesterday, as a serious insult to the martyrs of the hero city of Timisoara. We are consternated when faced with an act that lacks all sense of decency toward a city and people who have sacrificed their lives, so that the speaker himself may occupy a seat in a democratic institution, the protest of the working collective of the Timisoara Television Studio reads among other things.

The protest expressly demands the dismissal of Mr. Radu Ceontea from his position as senator and a serious examination of the attitude of the country's Parliament on the mourning day of the martyr city of Timisoara.

Martyrs Association Calls For Peace

AU1812134590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1143 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/12/1990—In behalf of the Association for Honouring the Martyr Heroes of the December 1989 Revolution in Bucharest, we address today to all political formations, associations and other nonpolitical organizations, the church across the nation, all inhabitants of this blessed Romanian land, the Parliament, the government and the president and, last but not least, the Army, reads a release of the above-mentioned association.

On these special days of emotion, the Romanian people celebrates one year since the December 1989 revolution, which freed this people of the communist pest, opened up the way to fulfilling the dreams of our forerunners—freedom, democracy, a better and more just life.

We, the bereaved families of the children, spouses and parents who paid the dearest price for Romania's freedom and dignity, the release reads, ask you to take every step so that the country may have quiet and peace, collaboration and understanding, and have no more wounded or victims, for there have already been too many.

Sure, there is still much to be done in Romania for the Romanian people's welfare and happiness. Do overcome these difficult moments of crisis and turmoil, think that the whole world is watching us, is sympathetic with us and our troubles at which only the enemies rejoice.

We beg you to be united as you were back in December 1989 and consider yourselves, even those of you who, like us, are not engaged in politics, to be the members of just one party: The Romanian people.

Rear your children in happiness and good health, take care of your old as of the apple of your eye, and if you sometimes remember the martyr heroes of the December 1989 revolution, then come to the Cemetery of Young Heroes with a flower and a candle, with good thoughts and, by that forest of tombstones you will find your peace, the release concludes.

2,000 Attend Antigovernment Rally in Timisoara

AU1812195990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1728 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/12/1990—On Tuesday, at noon, about 2,000 demonstrators gathered in the Opera Square in Timisoara chanting antigovernmental, antipresidential and antiparliamentary slogans.

FSN Headquarters 'Devastated' by Unknown Group

AU1912105090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1016 GMT 19 Dec 90

[Text] The Bucharest District 2 headquarters of the National Salvation Front [FSN] was devastated by unidentified persons. Eyewitnesses say it was a group of citizens "walking peacefully" by the building, after the usual tour of the University Square.

Government, Construction Trade Unions Hold Talks

AU1812204690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1926 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/12/1990—On 18 December 1990 the representatives of the "Construct" National Union Confederation debated with representatives of several ministries the claims in the notice forwarded to the government in connection with the specific working conditions in constructions, construction materials and construction mechanization.

The talks were chaired by the minister of state in charge with economic guidance Eugen Dijmarescu.

A number of claims were solved while terms and responsibilities were set for the settlement of others.

Timis County Transport Enterprises on Strike

AU1812214290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2025 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/12/1990—Despite persistent calls for a general strike by numerous political and apolitical groups as well as by some trade unions and student organizations, most of the economic units in Timisoara and in Timis County are working normally. Thus, the public and cargo transport enterprises, the electric network enterprise, the regional railway department, Timis oil field, construction and construction materials units, milling and bakery units, dairies, the automobile industry, the "Azur" varnishes and paints enterprise, the wool-processing industry, the "Modern" shoe factory and others are carrying on activity at a normal pace. There are enterprises on strike: "Electromotor," "Elba," the "Guban" shoe factory (partially), the "6 Martie" ["6 March"] machine-building enterprise (except for the supply and distribution offices and round o'clock operating departments).

Civic Alliance Asks Iuga To Stop Hunger Strike

AU1912093690 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 14 Dec 90 p 5

["Open Letter" by Civic Alliance national conference; place and date not given]

[Text] Our friend Dumitru Iuga, president of the Free Trade Union of Romanian Radio-Television and founding member of the Civic Alliance, has been unable to participate in the proceedings of our first national conference. He has been on a hunger strike for 13 days now. The Civic Alliance fully supports his demands.

The harmful nature of television today is something that should no longer be tolerated. Without a radical change in this area we will do nothing but live with lies and in misery; therefore, we are in solidarity with Dumitru Iuga's altruist and desperate act. At a time when dialogue is accepted only when it is useful for those in power, such a form of protest means suicide.

Noting the indifference of those in power to the seriousness of the situation, we ask him to stop his hunger strike!

We continue to need the tenacity and great awareness of the leader of the Free Trade Union of Romanian Radio-Television and we are convinced that his gesture has been understood as a sacrifice to truth and democracy.

We appeal to Dumitru Iuga not to lose his life!

Through collective effort, the Civic Alliance will take over the noble task he has assumed, so that his gesture will not be in vain.

We need you here as we need Mihai Gheorghiu and George Roncea—hunger strikers here in the hall with us—in this difficult struggle all of us are waging for the sake of our country's future.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE CIVIC ALLIANCE

Iliescu, Civic Alliance Leaders Meet 19 Dec

AU1912102290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 19 Dec 90

[Text] President Ion Iliescu is presently holding a meeting with memebrs of the Steering Committee of the Civic Alliance. On behalf of the Civic Alliance the following persons are attending the meeting: Marian Munteanu, Petre Mihai Bacanu, Alexandru Popovici, Mircea Sevaciuc, Nicolae Manolescu and Stelian Tenase.

RMDSZ Official on Bucharest Strike Situation

AU1712153390 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 13 Dec 90 p 2

[Interview with Odon Ditay, spokesman of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania, by Csaba Szerdahelyi, on the telephone from Bucharest on 12 December: "Ultimatum to the Strikers, Ultimatum to the Government"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] The Romanian Government issued a 24-hour ultimatum to the striking drivers. If they do not leave the streets, the government will take the necessary steps. As a reply, the strikers announced a similar ultimatum and, when that is up, the drivers will paralyze traffic in Bucharest—we learned from Odon Ditay, member of the Presidium of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ].

[Szerdahelyi] We can imagine the mood there.... How do you see things there, on the spot?

[Ditay] The atmosphere has increasingly deteriorated since the late afternoon of 12 December when the police attacked the peaceful demonstrations during a two-hour street fight. In addition, the government used a dishonest means of propaganda. They say that seventeen ships loaded with food are moored in the port of Constanta, and the supply of goods for the country and especially for Bucharest will not be ensured if the drivers do not stop their strike.

[Szerdahelyi] What can the RMDSZ parliamentary faction do in these tense days?

[Ditay] There has been a relative cease-fire, especially since the National Salvation Front deputy in Parliament withdrew his accusations directed at Laszlo Tokes and, according to the deputy in question, he did that because he believed Bishop Tokes. At the same time, he initiated the denunciation of the editors of CORRIERE DELLA SERA for their fabrications. A permanent committee of the Romanian Parliament is preparing a statement

remembering the heroes of the revolution. The statement will call for peace and calm in the country, but it will also call upon the government to use police forces against destabilizing elements. The big danger in this formulation is that they do not want to name the people they consider to be destabilizing forces.

[Szerdahelyi] What is your opinion about prime minister?

[Ditay] Our faction has no direct contacts with Petre Roman. However, in the wake of the Alba Iulia affair on 1 December, we officially demanded his resignation because he behaved in a manner unfit for a prime minister and led the agitators like a conductor. We have not received any reply to our petition.

[Szerdahelyi] What are the major tasks currently facing the RMDSz?

[Ditay] The atmosphere is extremely tense not only in Bucharest, but also all over the country, including Transylvania. We will hold a mass meeting in Temesvar on 16 December, but we call upon everyone not to give in to provocations. The RMDSZ is also striving for balanced relations with opposition organizations outside the Parliament, and thus we will negotiate with the leaders of the Citizens' Alliance on 13 December. I consider it extremely important to make sure that the RMDSZ is not isolated.

[Szerdahelyi] What was the atmosphere in Bucharest like on 12 December?

[Ditay] For the time being, the drivers are waiting, and traffic is moving freely everywhere. Besides, it is pouring with rain, and Bucharest is feeling slack, just like the whole of Romania.

PNL's Campeanu Wants National Unity Government

AU1912102190 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Dec 90 p 5

[Petru Clej report on "Interview With Mr. Radu Campeanu": "I Support the Civic Alliance If It Does Not Turn Into a Political Party"]

[Text] At the invitation of the European Movement and the Parliament of the Swiss Confederation, a Romanian parliamentary delegation visited Bern and Geneva. The delegation was made up of Messrs. Radu Campeanu (National Liberal Party) [PNL] vice president of the Senate; Senator Marcian Bleahu (Ecologist Movement); Senator Bela Marko (Magyar Democratic Union of Romania) [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania]; and Deputy Gabriel Tepelea (National Peasant Christian Democratic Party). Senator Radu Homescu (National Salvation Front), who had also been invited, announced that he would be unable to come. I asked Mr. Radu Campeanu what subjects were discussed during the talks with the Swiss hosts.

"All the people we talked to wanted to know what Romania's political situation was," Mr. Campeanu said; "They wanted to know what our economic and political prospects were. We also discussed the problems of ethnic minorities and of handicapped children!"

In connection with the administration of our country within the Council of Europe, the Senate vice president said:

"We want Romania to be granted the status of guest at the Council of Europe in view of the fact that Hungary is a member with full rights, while the CSFR and Poland are to be granted the same status. I have already explained, however, that this involves a number of political and economic conditions. They are actually stipulated in the Charter of Europe. We held talks with Mr. Peter Sager, president of the Commission for nonmember countries of the Council of Europe; in about one week he will discuss this issue in Paris. Generally speaking, the atmosphere is not favorable for our country. There are reservations at the political level. Certain progress has been achieved on the road to democracy, but that is not enough. The opposition has to be free to criticize the government without being accused of destabilization or a state coup. On behalf of the PNL, I requested that authorized representatives of the opposition be present at negotiations between the government and the Council of Europe."

Then I asked Mr. Campeanu about his position on the Civic Alliance considering that he had occasionally expressed reservations in connection with that organization.

"If the Civic Alliance stays what it is and does not turn into a political party, I will support it," the leader of the PNL explained.

Continuing, Mr. Campeanu explained the absence of his party's central leadership in the second national convention of the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum held in Cluj.

"We were the initiators of these opposition organizations; however, I think that a central forum is not useful. Only local ones are useful."

In conclusion, I asked the Senate vice president what the chances were for the government to resign.

"I am convinced that this resignation will come. A national unity government would be useful at this point."

To my question whether he would accept the position of prime minister, should President Iliescu offer him such a position, Mr. Campeanu said:

"I do not think that this is possible," but added "I understand that some trade unions would welcome a formula in which I was prime minister."

The PNL leader concluded by talking about the atmosphere of tension in our country:

"I am afraid of violent clashes. I believe it is necessary to avoid confrontation that would cause bloodshed."

Liberals Call for 'National Unity' Cabinet

AU1812201890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1803 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/12/1990—The Press Department of the National Liberal Party [PNL] sent the national news agency ROMPRES the following specification: The statement made in Parliament by Mr. Radu Campeanu, president of the National Liberal Party, on December 17, 1990 in connection with vice president N. Cerveni's address to the rally in Timisoara refers only to the meaning of the National Liberal Party's proposal to form a government of national unity.

The assertions in Mr. N. Cerveni's address gave birth to erroneous interpretations and they should be understood exclusively in the sense that the National Liberal Party proposed the replacement of the current unicolour government by a government of national unity led by a personality with neutral status.

PNL Leader Issues TV Message on Recent Events

AU1612154790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Statement by Radu Campeanu, president of the Romanian National Liberal Party, on "Current Events" program on 15 Decemeber; place not given—recorded]

[Text] In the next few minutes, I would like to discuss some events that have been taking place over the past two to three days.

Around 13 December, heading a parliamentary delegation of the National Liberal Party [PNL] I went to the Cotroceni Palace to meet with President Iliescu. That is to say; I made a move. I made this move because the situation in Romania is so difficult that it requires exceptional political measures. Currently we are facing a great and profound economic crisis which is made worse by a very serious social crisis. These two factors can produce very disquieting confrontations, and we, within the PNL, believe that such confrontation should be avoided.

Certainly, the claims of trade unions and students, the difficulties and discontent of these categories of people should be carefully considered.

If, however, there is tension—and there is economic and social tension—we should not ignore its causes. On the contrary, we should try and find solutions to these problems. We believe that, under the current conditions of our country, first a political solution should be found and this should be followed by economic solutions.

We presented the president with a proposal of setting up a government of national unity, under certain conditions. I do not believe that now is the right time for me to speak about these conditions. On Monday [17 December] morning, our proposals—their essence and content—will be discussed at the Cotroceni Palace.

I have to mention that, considering the difficulties that we are facing in our country, solutions of oppression or repression cannot be imagined and cannot be useful. Therefore, I believe that wisdom and patriotism call on us to follow the only possible path, that is the path leading to a [word indistinct] political solution. I am convinced that if the discussions that will take place on Monday—that is discussions that will begin on Monday—reach favorable results, they will be approved by the great majority of the Romanian people. At the same time, I am also convinced that if those results are positive, the hopes of this nation in freedom, in getting fulfillment, and truth will finally be fulfilled.

Government Spokesman Holds News Conference

Refers to Student Strikes

AU1812204190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1945 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/12/1990—During his news conference the spokesman of the government Bogdan Baltazar referred to the students' strikes in each University centre. According to the data supplied it results that most of the students throughout the country continue their activity. It was stressed, inter alia, that at Suceava, of the about 1,800 students there only 45 were on strike. As for Oradea, Bacau, Brasov, Baia Mare, Tirgu Mures there are no data to confirm that such strikes were on.

In Bucharest, he added, "the situation is diverse as there are pickets that do not let students attend courses or seminars. In Timisoara several partial strikes have been called to which some collectives of enterprises have indeed adhered."

During his weekly news conference the spokesman of the government, secretary of state Bogdan Baltazar, assessed the current dialogue between the government and trade unions as "thorough and responsible, open and productive." It was stressed that the talks had in view new normative acts concerning annual vacation and the salary system, the conclusions drawn on the occasion having to be examined by the joint government-union commission. In that context, Mr. Baltazar referred to the complex implications of the present strike of the TAROM navigating staff which affects an important transport sector considering the wage claims of the strikers as highly exaggerate.

Comments on Coalition Talks

AU1812204590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] During his weekly news conference, government spokesman Bogdan Baltazar read a statement which says, among other things: At the request of the National Liberal Party, a first contact took place today, at the Cotroceni Palace, with the leadership of that party in

connection with a possible formula of national concentration, which would imply the participation of the opposition parties represented in the Parliament, or just some of them, in the administration of public affairs. This contact proves that, as we said immediately after the elections, we continue to be open to the idea of such participation, so that all responsible political parties jointly assume the task of administering and overcoming the profound structural crisis, which neither the majority, nor the opposition are guilty of, but rather the system we overthrew on 22 December 1989.

Views Importance of Dialogue

AU1812214090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2050 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/12/1990—During his weekly press conference Mr. Bogdan Baltazar, spokesman of the government, secretary of state, presented a statement which reads as follows: "On Tuesday, December 17, at the Cotroceni Palace, following the request of the National Liberal Party, there was a first contact with the leaders of that party in order to discuss a possible variant of national consensus.

This meeting attests that, as we have said immediately after the elections, we continue to be open to the idea of such a participation, meaning an assumption by all the political formations of the responsibility of administration and overcoming of the profound structural crisis of which neither the majority nor the opposition are guilty, but the system we have done away with on December 22, 1989. We maintain our readiness to dialogue with all the political formations represented in Parliament, we maintain our openness to solutions, which cannot be accepted, though, unless they are really beneficial to the governing process, to the country's political stability, and do not conflict with the people's will which was freely and clearly expressed on May 20. In other words, one cannot upset the results of free elections at the "green table." In this context, the fact that Mr. Radu Campeanu declared one thing to the BBC on Saturday, December 15, and another thing in Parliament yesterday, December 17, doesn't help dialogue and mutual trust very much.

Mr. Bogdan Baltazar went on to point out that in the interview to BBC Mr. Campeanu had spoken for an urgent replacement of the country's leaders without waiting for the elections, the opposition being ready to assume leadership. "Such things," Mr. Baltazar said, "are in no way going to help dialogue. In this context, we still have a long way to shaping out an understanding. It is essential that all the political forces participating in the dialogue prove utmost responsibility and readiness in finding solutions. This is the path the government will take."

Emphasizes Participation

AU1912141090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1230 GMT 19 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 19/12/1990—At this week's news conference State Secretary Bogdan Baltazar, government spokesman, said that on the initiative of the National Liberal Party, Tuesday, December 18, the Cotroceni Palace hosted the first interview between the presidency, the government, leaders of the ruling National Salvation Front and of the National Liberal Party on a possible variant of national concord—i.e. the participation of the opposition parties represented in the Parliament or of some of them in the administration. This contact proves that, as we told immediately after the elections, we continue to support the idea of the participation of all responsible political forces in the management of the state affairs in order to cope with the deep structural crisis inherited from the system abolished on December 22, 1989 and for which we aren't responsible, either the majority or the opposition. A conjunctural crisis adds to the structural one, rooted in this year's drought and the conflict in the gulf. We remain open to a dialogue with all the political formations represented in the Parliament, we remain open to solutions, but only those of them can be accepted that are beneficial to the governing of the country and its political stability and do observe the will of the Romanian people freely expressed on May 20. In other words, the negotiation table cannot change the results of the ballot. In context, the fact that Radu Campeanu, president of the National Liberal Party, said one thing in the interview with BBC, broadcast Saturday, December 15, at 18.15 p.m. and something else in Parliament yesterday cannot facilitate dialogue and mutual confidence.

Bogdan Baltazar added: You could hear Radu Campeanu in the live TV broadcast of the Parliament session. For making things clear, let me quote what he told BBC. "Our point of view is to discuss directly with the present power to change the government, to change power. I mean that is our opinion. Question: Power will be changed following elections, or...? Answer: No, no, no. The urgent change of power, without waiting for elections. Question: And who would be going to take power? Answer: The opposition. Question: The opposition, is it represented by the new convention? Answer: Of course, the parliamentary opposition in general, that is what is important for us, the parliamentary opposition.

As I told you, the government spokesman said, such things couldn't favour dialogue. A very long way is ahead of us in case an understanding is reached. The essential thing is, as it can be inferred from what I told you, that all the political forces participating in the dialogue with the governing forces should prove maximum responsibility and willingness to seek bona fide solutions. In what the government is concerned, that is the way it follows.

Vatra Romaneasca Wants Constructive Opposition

AU1812152490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] We will now present some elements from a communique sent to ROMPRES by the Cluj branch of the Vatra Romaneasca Union, which emphasizes that at this point the social situation in Romania is viewed as being almost explosive. This fact, the communique continues, has been partially generated by the attempt of the government to accelerate the transition process to a market economy through price liberalization, the immediate result of which is an exaggerated increase in prices of the majority of products other than foodstuffs, without ensuring an appropriate social protection—measures that have caused justified dissatisfaction.

Certain opposition parties take advantage of this dissatisfaction trying to (?achieve) power instead of practicing constructive opposition by supporting those measures that are of vital interest for the whole country.

At the same, the communique of the Cluj branch of the Vatra Romaneasca Union specifies, the credibility of the National Salvation Front is decreasing because it constantly delays publicizing certain vital truths for this country.

The Vatra Romaneasca Union believes that this dangerous situation can be overcome only through an honest and constructive attitude and only if all of us show devotion and assume responsibility. Romania remains our homeland, irrespective of the party or (?organization) to which we belong, and we have the duty to make use—through responsible actions—of the whole potential available in our country to solve the situation and pressing problems confronting us, the communique concludes.

Organizations Warn Against 'Destabilization'

AU1812191790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1649 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/12/1990—The Dimbovita County Confederation of the National Salvation Front [FSN], the FSN organization of Iasi County and the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union made public a number of declarations and appeals which, after ascertaining that several political movement leaders had oriented some trade unions' programmes and claims to exclusively political objectives, call upon the intellectuals, students, school pupils, workers' unions, peasants and all producers of material goods of the whole country to voice their disagreement with the ever stronger actions meant for Romania's destabilization.

"Mean instincts, the hunger for power and the wish for political promotion of persons incapable to prove competence within a deeply democratic framework," the appeal of FSN organization of Iasi County reads, "are reflected by those persons' irrational actions which are using violence, threats and political and street aggression in an attempt to lead the country to economic disaster for the benefit of extranational interests."

Roman Rejects Accusations of Undemocratic Behavior

AU1812180090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1545 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/12/1990—"The ten goals of the platform launched on the evening of 22 December 1989 have all been reached " said Premier Petre Roman in an interview for the daily "AZI," one year after the December revolution. "It is obvious that the targets set at the dawn of the democratic process started last year could not be accomplished in as short a time as one year, or through a democratic evolution free of turmoil. But we have kept our word and this is the thing that matters, is our main argument to uphold that the December revolution was triumphant not only by its breaking with the dictatorship and with the oppressive forces of the party apparatus, but also by what followed. It is for this very reason that any accusations for the so-called stumblings in the democratic evolution are ungrounded and dangerous."

Answering questions as to the economic process after the revolution, the premier said, among other things, that "the economic machinery did have a recessive period and now, when we are beginning slightly though to give it a positive course, we have to face undemocratic political manoeuvres which visibly hamper us from sustaining, implementing and managing this economic process aided by a radical reform. The whole Romanian society is in a state of excitement which acts, at the same time, as a bondage that keeps us in place" said the premier admitting that "blank spots" still exist as long as "we still do not know, either nominally or physically, who the terrorist, anti-revolutionary forces were," and that that was due to "the absence of a legal framework for inquiries," "to a very frail judiciary system we had been left with at that moment." Speaking of the sense of guilt induced during the dictatorship, he said: "We are all culpable to a certain extent for our silence during the dictatorship."

While referring again to the past few months' state of the economy the prime minister said: "It is for the first time we can detect a positive trend. November confirmed this tendency. We do not know what December has in store for us." The country's balance of payments is in an extremely difficult situation. We have no reserves, for instance, to pay the January oil bill we have reached the limit, from all points of view, in point of external crediting. There are firm promises that next January international bodies and individual partners will initiate concrete support actions. Therefore, the government's economic forecast commission has submitted three scenarios.

As for the National Salvation Front (FSN) as a political formation, the premier showed that "this was clearly an outcrop of the moment" and that "the Front must exist

on its own and outline its political structure" at the forthcoming national convention in January 1991.

Relative to the so-called "return to Europe," the prime minister found the pace was satisfactory but highly dependent on the political stability which, he underlined at the end of the interview, "compels us to keep our control over everything that has been done, over this ruling programme, which obviously means to keep the executive power."

Roman, Mayor, Others Discuss Administrative Issues

AU1812134790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1152 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/12/1990—The county prefects and the mayor-general of Bucharest city had an interview on December 18 in the morning with Prime Minister Petre Roman. Cabinet members, secretaries of state and heads of department participated.

The purpose of the meeting, as defined by Premier Roman, is to elucidate a few questions regarding the relations between the two government links of the central administration and local administration.

Deputies' Assembly Resumes Session 18 Dec

AU1812214190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2027 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/12/1990—The proceedings of the Assembly of Deputies were resumed on Tuesday.

After setting up mediation commissions for the disputes between the Senate and the Assembly of Deputies regarding the bill on public finance and the bill on plurality of offices, the Assembly debated and approved the report of the mediation commission regarding the settlement of the disputes on the bill on profit tax.

The adoption of the mediation commission report on the settlement of the disputes in connection with the bill on settling collective labour conflicts was postponed until the trade union organisations specified their stand. Discussions were held further on the bill on setting up the Romanian Institute for Human Rights.

Parliament Examines Proposed Law on Land

AU1812202090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1627 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/12/1990—On Tuesday Romania's Parliament gathered in a plenary meeting the agenda of which included the bill on the land. Because the report of the Senate's specialized commission had been submitted to the senators only a day before, it was convened that the debates in plenum begin after each senator's thorough analysis.

The next meeting in plenum is scheduled for this afternoon. Parliamentarians wish to pass the land law until the end of this month.

* Inconsistencies, Defects of Civic Alliance

91P20043C Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 18 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[Andrei Alexandru article: "More Civic or More Alliance?"]

[Text] We have more than 100 parties, many trade unions, hosts of political associations and we also have democratic antitotalitarian forums. We felt that something undefined was missing. And that is why that something, born out of "chaos," which probably will lead to chaos, has come to fill that undefined void. A name was given to the something: Civic Alliance (CA). Tasked with taking us out of the "social impasse," mitigating the "feelings of despair of those who see how the victims of the December events have been betrayed," removing the "blockage of the economic structures" and, probably, other things not yet stated, this child with many parents began the game with strength. Among the mothers and fathers are well-known names: Doina Cornea, alexandru Paleologu, Ana Blandiana, Vartan Arachelian, Mihail Sora, Marian Munteanu, Octavian Paler, Petre Mihai Bacanu, Stelian Tanase, Gabriel Liiceanu and others whom I beg to excuse me for not listing them. Among the others there are few workers (indeed, contact must be kept with the masses otherwise there is no alliance). However, there is a lack of peasants (probably a temporary one) who could come to the congress of the Alliance, dressed in national costume.

The haste with which the AC was established is incomprehensible since, for example, the date of the elections has not yet been set. Probably there is a justification, nevertheless. Now is the moment! The dates of 1 December and 22 December are approaching, people are dissatisfied with the recent price increases, the unions are organizing strikes and the European Parliament has its eyes on us. Why have I said haste? Because a "structure" with the pretensions which the AC has should have had at least a finalized statute. It seems, however, that at least some of the founding members have signed a blank check payable to those who are behind the appearance of this new-born entity. And there might be something else which would indicate haste: even the people who belong to the "decisionmaking mechanism" of the AC (at least those who give the impression that they belong to this mechanism, since they were presiding at a recent press conference) do not yet agree on a fundamental issue: what must be done to avoid a new failure (the old failure belonged to the Alliance for the Timisoara Proclamation).

Thus, Gabriel Andreescu states: "The Alliance for the Timisoara Proclamation appeared at an especially tense moment and its failure was a result of its mode of organization, the fact that it was based on membership by groups, not on individual membership" while P.M. Bacanu says that: "Although the option is individual, we

do not rule out the possibility of AC membership for entire organizations." Now there are two variants: Either Bacanu has been infiltrated into the AC by the Securitate to undermine it from within, or the haste to establish the Alliance has not permitted its leaders to agree even on basic issues. I am titling toward another variant, because a little later Petru Mihai Bacanu and G. Andreescu finally reach an agreement and speak in chorus saying: "Yes, the AC will fight for the disbanding of the political police." (The quotations are taken from ROMANIA LIBERA, No. 269).

During Ceausescu's time there was an anecdote: "Radio Yerevan. We have received the following question from a listener: Is it true that Ceausescu was in the underground? To which we reply: Yes, but this is only half true because he hid but no one was looking for him." The same holds true for the aversion of some AC members toward the political police which does not exist. Probably some of them still have the fear of the police imprinted on their minds from the time when they were "dissidents" and now they see everywhere secret agents pursuing them.

In addition, the transfer of penal acts to the sphere of political discriminations is an old and widespread trick. This summer, the mayor of Washington, who happened to be black, was caught using drugs. Of course, he tried to accredit the idea that he was charged because of the color of his skin. The fact that there has been support for some time for the idea that the counterintelligence services in the army should not be reorganized demonstrates that those who seek the disbanding of the political police are actually thinking about counterespionage. What else does the AC propose? If the parties are not capable of offering an alternative then the AC will propose its own candidates (Bacanu). On what occasion will the AC realize that the parties are not capable? Or perhaps they have already realized this, have taken the initiative and are preparing themselves. Yes, of course they are preparing themselves. The leader of the League of Students, Marian Munteanu has established the League of Future Students, Marian Munteanu has established the League of Future Students in the League of Students. Through intermediaries, he is getting signatures for membership from pupils. There have been such cases in the Caragiale and Balcescu secondary schools for automatic data processing in Bucharest. The pupil signs for membership and promises to observe the statute, which is not presented to him; they promise to give him a permit to attend any course and to go into any department and student club. There is only one condition: he must observe the statute which he does not know. There is no need to. What pupil does not want to become a student or to be taken into account by students? It does not matter what comes afterwards. I am very curious about what would happen if a representative of the National Salvation Front walked through the schools to collect signatures.

Saturday, 10 November, some very young disciples of Marian Munteanu were brought together at the headquarters of the League of Students in the Faculty of Law for the beginning of political education. Modern teaching material, cassettes, explanations, in a word, the whole thing. Is a Hitler youth for the 1990's being trained for us with Marian Munteanu in the position of Fuehrer?

What is the purpose of all this? Is the Civic Alliance preparing a surprise for us with firecrackers? This seems absurd, but there is no explanation why the idea of the nonparticipation of the Army in the case of a demonstration is upheld with such obstinacy, especially when, according to a statement in the newspaper TIMISOARA on 10 November, a secret committee for the democratization of the police has been established. Even the term "marches," used to describe the means used by the AC to achieve its noble aims, has a bellicose nature. In addition, Petre Mihai Bacanu tells us: "This is how the Revolution began: by interrupting a speech." The assertion is transparent and, ignoring the distortion of the historical truth that the Revolution actually began in Timisoara, a new revolution awaits us, probably in the organization of the Civic Alliance.

However, massive forces are needed to organize a revolution. It is true that on the list of the parents of the AC there are a number of shrewd intellectuals, but this is not sufficient. P.M. Bacanu resolves the problem when he answers the question of Professor Ispas of Pantelimon Commune: "How will you penetrate into the ranks of the peasants and workers?" By saying: "You will help us in the villages and, in regard to the workers, we have contacts with the trade unions." I suspect that he was referring to some trade union leaders who, instead of supporting the government program, which was praised not only by the parliamentary opposition, but also by foreign experts, are playing into the hands of those who want to be champions of democracy. Let's imagine that the government falls and a government of the current opposition is named. Radu Cimpeanu made a very wise statement during an interview which he gave to us: "If we, the liberals, had won the elections, we would have had a great disadvantage along with an advantage: we would have been sabotaged. If the present governmental team is sabotaged you can imagine what would have happened with us."

But perhaps the AC only wants to recall the president of Romania. In this sense, Corneliu Vlad, who writes excellently when he is objective, signs an article in ROMANIA LIBERA No. 271 in which he gives an examples Jaruzelski and Mladenov who "understood that it was for the good of the people that they no longer hang on to power at any price" and makes it understood that President Iliescu should follow their example. After 85 percent of the voters voted for Ion Iliescu it is clear that Mr. Vlad wants to do good to the Romanian people by force. I do not know if the author of the article belongs to the AC but the spirit in which "Morality" is written gives him the right to be a founding member.

In conclusion, I want to express my regret that a number of prestigious names are on the list of founders of the Civic Alliance.

Please God, may I be the one who is in error!

* 'Supreme Rationale' for PNT-cd Program

91BA0130A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 22 Nov 90 p 3

["Basic Principles of the Program of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party (PNT-cd)"]

[Text] The supreme rationale of the policy of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [NPP] is to defend the independence, sovereignty, and integrity of the country.

1. DOMESTIC POLICY

1.1. Establish a state of law in which legality will be strictly observed, under a constitutional political regime based on:

—individual freedom
—pluralist democracy
—administrative decentralization
—free election by secret ballot of central and local leadership bodies
—separation of the three powers in the state: legislative, executive, and judicial
—using referendum as the supreme form of decision in matters of a national importance

1.2. Constitutional, legislative, and institutional guarantees to ensure the democrtic leadership of the country and preempt the establishment of a fascist or communist-type government of any other form of totalitarianism.

1.3 Freedom of expression, of the press, and of all the means of dissemination of ideas and information. Secure and equal access to state-owned mass media for any political or social group and for all the citizens.

1.4. Ensuring the fundamental political and social rights and freedoms envisaged in the UN Human Rights Charter, the Helsinki Treaty, and all the international conventions which the Romanian state will join, for all the citizens, regardless of nationality of religious faith.

2. FOREIGN POLICY

2.1. Promoting a realistic foreign policy in keeping with the cultural traditions and aspirations of our people as a civilized European nation, and with the country's geo-political position.

2.2. Developing relations of good neighborliness.

2.3. Expanding and improving relations with all the states in the world, beginning with the European nations, for the purpose of achieving the Common European Home.

2.4. Observing all the obligations assumed by Romania under international treaties.

3. ECONOMY

3.0.1. The nation's wealth will be the consequence of the wellbeing of its citizens, for whose assistance the state will legislate the necessary laws and financial support.

3.0.2. A market economy will be gradually adopted, under which each (agricultural, livestock farmer, industrial, etc.) producer will be free to adjust his activities in keeping with consumer demand and his own production capacity.

3.0.3. Free competition will lead to:

—lower prices
—satisfied consumer requirements
—better commodities quality
—higher productivity.

3.1. AGRICULTURE

3.1.1. The basic unit of agricultural organization will be the individual farm. Justice will be done for the peasants who were robbed by force and terror of their land and goods throughout the period of communist regime for the purpose of achieving a utopian collectivization.

3.1.2. The land belonging to agricultural production cooperatives will be given back to the peasants in private ownership and for perpetuity, and they will be helped to procure the necessary means to: carry out agricultural work, fertilize and irrigate the soil, combat pests and disease, select seed, etc., so that peasants' households can become real Eyuropean-type farms (on the Danish, Dutch, Swiss, and other models depending on the terrain).

3.1.3. The size of the plots of land that will be allocated will be based on the following criteria:

—topography, nature of the land, and soil quality
—overall number of applicants entitled to receive land
—available land plots in the area (inclusing the land outside cooperative and state agricultural enterprises, if applicable).

3.1.4. The land plots that will be allocated in full ownership are intended to ensure a prosperous living to each family, without, however, exceeding the overall farming capability of the respective family; the owner will be able to procure machinery and mechanical tools on the basis of long-term credit.

3.1.5. Should they wish to, land owning farmers will be able to organize in associations whose purpose will be to:

—carry out mechanized farming operations
—permit crop rotation
—market produce
—store produce, etc.

3.1.6. Upon the unanimous request of the members, agricultural production cooperatives may be turned into associations for the purpose of utilizing means of production for either the entire property or only partially for certain facilities or activities.

3.1.7. Land owning peasants can dispose of all their crops without any obligation to deliver certain quotas or to grow certain crops.

3.1.8. To ensure that the land is not fragmented below the limit at which it can be profitably farmed, minimum-size plots may be disposed of only as a whole.

3.1.9. A system of pensions and social security will be established for peasants, under which each one will be entitled to social and sickness assistance and to old age pensions capable of ensuring a comfortable life.

3.2 INDUSTRY

3.2.1. The small-scale industry sector will be entirely transferred to the private sector in the form of individual property or industrial associations.

3.2.2. The state will encourage the establishment of new enterprises through credits and a rational tax policy.

3.2.3. Organizational steps will be taken to change medium-scale industry into privately-owned firms, public companies, worker-owned enterprises, mixed companies, or private entrepreneurs.

3.2.4. In view of the great volume of investments made in major industry, its production capacity, and the volume of jobs involved, urgent measures must be taken to modernize it and make it profitable through cooperation with foreign capital, splitting up industrial giants into soecific production facilities and public companies, and having industries of national interest run as autonomous managements.

At the first stage priority will be given to the production of consumer goods with a view to promoting commercial activities and meeting consumer needs.

3.2.5. Mixed enterprises will be established with the participation of foreign capital, which will be limited so as to preserve the Romanian side's right of decision, with a view to:

—revitalizing depleted industries
—replacing outdated or worn equipment
—modernizing technologies
—improving product quality
—securing foreign markets
—securing good sources of raw materials

3.3 CONSUMER SERVICES

Consumer services will be developed by providing the necessary production space from the state housing stock and granting credits for tools and equipment as required. To develop and divrsify services so as to provide consumers with timely and high quality services, retraining classes will be organized for trasdesmen with appropriate skills, and graduates of vocational and industrial highschools will be encouraged to join this sector.

3.4. COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES

3.4.1. Will be carried out on the basis of private initiative and free competition, whose combined effect will be:

—lower prices
—better quality and selection of products
—better consumer services.

3.4.2. Credit will be granted so that private persons can take over the existing state stores and open new stores.

4. ECOLOGY

4.1. Measures will be taken to achieve better living conditions by returning to a natural environmental state.

4.2. All sources of pollution will be identified.

4.3. Planned purification installations will be built and the plants affected will be obligated to utilize the appropriate installations or to order others which they are to built without delay. Unsatisfactory purification installations will be taken out of use.

4.4. Sources of pollution will be kept under permanent observation and their activities may be suspended.

4.5. Special attention will be given to the side effects of fertilizers, herbicides, insecticides, and pesticides and any that are apt to cause significant pollution will be banned.

4.6. Special crops and plantations will be grown to improve natural environmental conditions for the purpose of: oxygenating the air, preserving humidity, lessening air currents, maintaining thermal stability, etc.

SOCIAL AREAS

5.1. Promote free trade unions not belonging to any political party, whose mission is to genuinely defend the workers' professional and social rights.

5.2. Labor protection measures, measures to preempt occupational diseases, and health, old age, and unemployment insurance.

5.3. Reorganize health care and social assistance in a humane and efficient manner.

5.4. Generalize the 40 hour work week.

5.5. Issue legislation for changing or restricting the activities of enterprises with a view to retraining workers and thus avoiding unemployment.

5.6. Invest state funds in social projects and long-term cost amortization projects with a view to creating jobs.

5.7. Create favorable conditions for the practice of free professions.

5.8. Involve the youth in national recovery work, giving them broad opportunities for promotion on criteria of skills, intellectual capability, and moral character.

5.9. Provide women with fair conditions of participation in social, economic, and political areas at all the levels and promote their specific concerns, ideals, and qualities in village life.

3.10. Workers, women, and youth organizations will be activated within the party to clarify and support their interests and aspirations.

5.11. Recognize and honor all the national heroes fallen since 1945 inthe struggle against the totalitarian communist regime.

5.12. Allocate pension rights to invalids and families of the victims of the December 1989 Revolution.

5.13. Recognize the years spent in prison by political prisoners since 1945 as length of service.

5.14. Bring penal suits against all those who tortured political prisoners and those who in the exercise of their duties became guilty of abuse of power, corruption, and violation of basic human rights.

6. CULTURE

6.1. Promote the spiritual rebirth of the people on the basis of Christian morality and the ancient Romanian traditions of tolerance and kindness.

6.2. Complete freedom of intellectual creation. Liberate the culture and its institutions from the influence of political ideologies.

Provide material support for creative unions and institutions of liberal arts and science, and observe their autonomy vis-a-vis the state.

Promote broad international dissemination of cultural values in order to reintegrate the Romanian culture in the great current of European culture.

6.3. Reorganize the educational system and cultural life on humanistic and democratic bases; make the universities autonomous. Ensure a democratic system of education for the entire youth and support it through a system of scholarships and contracts in the country and abroad. Involve the youth in national recovery work by giving them broad opportunities for promotion on the basis of intellectual and moral worth.

7. SPORTS

7.1. The complete development of the human being necessarily includes biological life, too: "mens sana in corpore sano" [a healthy mind in a healthy body].

7.2. Aware of the importance of sports, especially in view of the fact that modern life involves very little physical exertion, the NPP will use every available means to support athletic activities in schools and plants, through various associations, on holidays, in cities, and in villages.

7.3. Promote legal sources of financing in order to eliminate the interference of politics in sports.

Encourage the major economic concerns that will be opened to sponsor sports teams.

7.4. Strive to develop a spirit of loyal and friendly understanding and fair play in sports competitions, and generalize this mentality to all public activities, including politics.

7.5. Together with people in science and culture, the country's athletes are called upon to demonstrate to the world the creative and biological skills of our people, so that the Romanian Nation can regain the place it deserves in the eyes of the world.

8. ARMY

8.1. The Army embodies the arm and defense conscience of the leaders and the independence and dignity of the country. The NPP supports the reintroduction of national traditions and history in military training as a source of moral support.

8.2. Modernize defense weapons and military equipment.

8.3. Give special attention to the military training of officers and non-commissioned officers and to their living conditions. Criteria for promotion will emphasize the cadres' professional capabilities and efficiency.

8.4. Ensure optimal military instruction for young recruits in a civilized and dignified environment, and to the extent possible endeavor to provide them with general education and professional skills.

The NPP calls on all those who share its ideals of freedom, democracy, social justice and Christian ethics, all those whose conscience is clear and who wish to build a bright and dignified future for the fatherland to unite under the old and glorious flag of IULIU MANIU and ION MIHALACHE, so that, with all our forces united we can lead ROMANIA ALONG ITS NATURAL PATH AT THE SIDE OF THE CIVILIZED EUROPEAN NATIONS.

* Majority Said To Be 'Terrorized' by Minority

91BA0130C Bucharest AZI in Romanian 25 Nov 90 p 1

[Tudor Balteanu article]

[Text] A visitor from England told me that, after talking to various people, he noted that most unexpectedly, in today's Romania "the majority is intimidated by the minority," meaning the opposition. How could such a thing be possible?

Had he stayed here a few days longer he could have had the best answer at the NSF [National Salvation Front] 20 November meeting, when the opposition sent representatives to do their customary act. The same people who "woke up" University Square throughout its various stages, the "heroes" of 13 June released by the police, assault gangs of the "street politicians" rallied under Civic the Alliance umbrella, whose representatives, the only ones invited at the European Council, lie without any restraint. The weapons were once again the same: stones and clubs, threats to passersby, beatings, serious injuries just short of murder, and ransacking of NSF buildings. Their leader, Stelian Tanase, can now go to Strassbourg to complain of lack of democracy under the "Iliescu regime" and that the opposition is being terrorized. Former RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Central Committee member Octavian Paler, too, has reason to be happy: Nascent democracy is greeted with clubs and Ceausescu seems to thank him from the grave.

When in December 1989 my father was telling me about prewar politics in Romania, about smashed shop windows, paid inciters well armed with clubs, and frequent fights between camps, I doubted that his stories were quite true and anyway, I thought, people had progressed since then. I couldn't imagine today's young people, students, and school youngsters capable of such excesses. However, one short month later I came to see how wrong I had been.

The old "historical" leaders quickly revived the practices of the past. Money, liquor, clothes, everything was used to make people get into violent actions. The historical parties were the first to reinstate and sanction political violence. They were later joined by certain organizations with changing fronts but with leaders trained in jail (like Ceausescu once). That explains why simple people, who made up the majority on 20 May, escaped fearfully from the many kinds of aggression. The 20 May election was in a way a kind of screen placed in front of political brutality, and that is why it was so disproportionate. Honest people thought that, by giving a vote of no confidence to the politicking Hooligans, the daily aggressions would end. They were, however, mistaken.

But the fact that some of the opposition parties—the extremists—have institutionalized violence is not due only to historical nostalgia (..."that's what Mr. Coposu was raised on, so that's what he's doing"). No. It was also a way of compensating for the weakness of the opposition. Only people who are weak and full of complexes strike blindly right and left all the time. Instead of a coherent alternative policy they offered us felons with loudspeakers. Instead of authentic, professional, and charismatic political leaders they gave us a few frantic writers (clumsily concealing their relations with the former nomenklatura), a few journalists with strong ties abroad, and a few actors who pathetically read their proclamations. It was not for nothing that one member of a large Western embassy expressed disappointment with the achievements of the GDS [Group for Social Dialogue] on which they had pinned great hopes.

But the aggression is not only physical. With their hutzpa and aggressiveness, the "radicals" and "hooligans" have begun to control the internal life of institutions (which shows that certain psychological types also made their way into this category). Requests are heard to fire NSF members and the latter are ridiculed and intimidated. If you are an NSF supporter you don't want that known to the university senate because the "students' trade unions" and some of the professors will kill your promotion. In highschool staff rooms NSF sympathizers are isolated in the corner. In one of the Polytechnical School corridors one professor was talking about the chaos that immediately followed the revolution in the universities, but as soon as a trade union leader (who failed his classes, evening ones at that) came near, the professor fell quiet.

Very curious indeed: Although the majority is the majority, it has not exhibited similar attitudes. I haven't heard that anyone's promotion was in doubt because the respective person was a liberal. Or that there were any requests to oust a person for being a member of the Peasant Party (as happened in the case of NSF members employed at a major publishing house!).

The majority is indeed terrorized by the minority, and that is also due to the fact that, thanks to a strange magnetism, the minority has rallied people with a certain psychological profile and strong personalities. Faced with such figures, normal people tend to back down in fear: 50,000 pro-NSF demonstrators beat a hasty retreat before frightened by 300 bullies from the "constructive opposition" as their leaders call it. Which was not at all surprising. Mircea Eliade left and never went back. Another famous philosopher, Paul Ricoeur did likewise. Both are still great, although the "hooligans" of France contested them. And the "hooligans" were awarded "street" degrees that no one recognizes any more. In a way, history repeated itself in our country, too.

Why is the majority psychologically dominated by the minority?

Here's why: I went to visit a family of old friends, intellectuals, during the time of the Hooligan Epic. At their house every one was wearing "hooligan" buttons. A five year old child was wearing a "retired hooligan" button because they hadn't found any other for him. "So what do we do, pull him down?" "Whom?" "Iliescu and his gang." After which the cursing started. But, surprise: Mr. Ratiu appeared on the TV screen in an electoral clip. The head of the family commanded: "Stand up, all of you!" I thought he was joking. "No, everybody up!" I looked at him; he wasn't drunk. Still, I knew him as a sane person. Then came a long peroration, after which he said: "You know why I invited you? So we can go together to University Square. We have highly placed connections up there." "We're not going," my wife said, "why should we?" Whereupon the reply descended heavy as a hammer blow: "Well, dear, it wouldn't hurt your husband to become a minister, would it?"

Now you know why the majority is intimidated by the opposition...

* Norms Governing Wage, Pension Increases

91BA0131B Bucharest AZI in Romanian 15 Nov 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Norms for the Implementation of Government Decision No. 1163/1990 on the Indexing of Wages and Pensions Following the Liberalization of Prices and Tariffs"]

[Text] 1. The fixed amount of 750 lei envisaged in article 3 letter a of Government Decision No. 1163/1990 will be paid on a monthly basis together with the first bimonthly check to all employees of state and budget-financed units, who worked for an entire month according to the normal work schedule established for the units with which they have limited or unlimited work contracts.

The amount envisaged will also be allocated in full to employees who:

—work a shorter schedule because of medical recommendations, or are third degree invalids employed on half time schedule;

—are on legal annual leave;

—are on sick leave for temporary working incapacity;

—are on prenatal or postnatal leave or caring for sick children, or part-time working mothers nursing babies under nine months of age;

—have been taken off the work schedule for training, retraining, or advanced professional classes;

—are on civic duty, with the exception of cases when the work contract is suspended (military service, etc.);

—are in other situations for which the law envisages full tariff wage payment.

The amount of 750 lei will also be paid in full to employees who, in accordance with the law, remained at the disposal of enterprises after work was suspended and are receiving 75 percent of their tariff wage.

2. Employees who, in accordance with the law, are staying home while their enterprises are not working and receive 50 percent of their tariff wage, are entitled to half of the fixed allowance envisaged under article 3 letter a of Decision No. 1163/1990.

3. Employees who work for several units will receive the fixed allocation from the unit that has their work card, if they are employed there full time.

Part time employees will be paid by each unit in proportion to the schedule on which they are employed.

The sum total of all the amounts paid to the employee may not exceed 750 lei.

4. Women employees who, in accordance with Decree-Law No. 31/1990 are on paid leave to take care of babies under one year of age will receive 65 percent of the 750 lei allowance every month.

5. Employees who are hired or stop working in the course of a month (for reasons of transfer, termination of work contract, etc.) will receive from the unit they joined or left the fixed amount envisaged under article 3 letter a of Decision 1163/1990 in proportion to the number of days actually worked at the respective unit.

Employees whose work contract was terminated because of work cuts and who, in accordance with the law, continue to receive wages for a period of up to [?three] months will also be awarded the fixed allowance of 750 for the same length of time.

6. Employees who took unpaid leave at their own request during the month, were on leave of absence, or who had unexcused absences of more than one day are entitled to the fixed allowance calculated in keeping with the number of days actually worked.

7. Old age pensioners who are legally employed and do not combine their salary and pension are entitled to the fixed allowance envisaged under article 3 letter a of Decision 1163/1990 for as long as they are employed, and the allowance will be paid by the employer; once they stop working, they will be entitled to the amount envisaged in article 3 letter b of the above-mentioned decision.

Working old-age pensioners who combine their wage and pension will receive the allowance envisaged under article 3 paragraph 2 of Decision 1163/1990 from the pension bodies.

8. Pensioners who receive social security pensions for both work in the state sector and in other sectors with their own social insurance systems, including agricultural production cooperatives, will receive from the state social security budget an allowance proportional with the share of the state pension of their overall pension rights; the due fixed allowance will be calculated by the sector responsible for the pension, which will also settle the account with state social security budget at the same time as the pensions are paid.

9. People entitled to social security pensions and pensions for war invalids, orphans, and widows will be allocated a fixed monthly allowance of 400 lei from state social security.

10. People who are on state social security pensions and also receive pensions for work in the arts (paid by an art union) will receive the fixed allowance from the state social security sector.

11. Pensioners retired for first degree incapacitation within the state social security system, military men, and pensioners who are war invalids, orphans, or widows—severely incapacitated and first degree invalids—will be entitled, in addition to the fixed allowances envisaged

under artile 3 letter b of Decision 1163/1990, to the allowances envisaged under article 3 letter c of the same decision.

Persons retired for third degree incapacitation who do not work will receive the same fixed allowance as old age pensioners.

12. The managements of economic and budget units will decide how to show the fixed allowances to which the employees are entitled in their bookkeeping (general payroll, separate payroll, or wage docket). For pensioners, the fixed allowances will be distinctly shown on the pension stub.

13. If after payment of the first bimonthly check an employee went on unpaid leave, leave of absence, or unexcused absence, payment of the fixed allowance for the respective month will be effected in the following month.

14. In cases in which employees are awarded rights for the entire month in the form of social security indemnities (for temporary work incapacity, pre and post-natal leave, etc.) the fixed allowances will be covered from the social security contribution paid by the unit; in all other situations the fixed allowances will be paid out of the unit's current expenses.

15. The fixed allowances paid to employees and pensioners are not a part of their tariff wage or pension. The fixed allowances paid to employees are exempted from the calculation of the overall payroll tax, contributions to the state social security fund, quotas for the uneployment relief fund, or the three percent contribution for the payment of additional pensions.

The fixed allowances paid to employees will not be shown on the work card.

16. In every situation in which the fixed allowances are established proportionally, the amount due will be calculated on the basis of the ratio between the number of days for which the employee is entitled to a fixed allowance and the number of working days envisaged in the normal work schedule of the unit in the month for which the amounts are calaculated.

Partial fixed allowances paid out to employees and pensioners in accordance with the regulations established will be rounded up in keeping with the regulations in effect concerning wages and pensions.

Professor Silviu Brucan on Free Market Economy

AU1412214590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2003 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/12/1990—"The market economy," said Professor Silviu Brucan in an interview with the daily "ADEVARUL," cannot be born without pains. The government should have warned people, should have told them that things would be bad before they could be good."

Referring to the fact that, at the moment, given the precarious economic and living standard, some political forces demand the resignation of the government, Mr. Brucan sees it as one more proof of "retarded political thinking." Remarking the competence of the specialists, of the technocrats forming the present government, Mr. Brucan is of the opinion that if those shouting out now "down with the government" were to take over tomorrow, they would turn tails in less than six months.

About trade union leaders, Mr. Brucan thinks they have retained the old mentality that everything should be solved at the top.

As for price liberalisation, Professor Brucan shares the opinion that this has been done without careful preparation, that is without enough commodities reserves ready to supply the market with and in underestimation or disregard of its social and cultural impact. It is the government's duty, says Mr. Brucan, to encourage economic units to take effective management in their hands, to sweep away all bureaucrats that hamper trade initiatives and bar the way to entrepreneurs willing to open workshops, restaurants and so on, and the government does not do all this with enough determination.

In his opinion, Professor Rugina's idea of promoting private trade in parallel to the still existing state-run shops is worthwhile.

In principle, Professor Brucan agrees that privatisation is a lengthy process and, in reply to those claiming that privatisation should have preceded price liberalisation, he opposes the argument that such an order of steps would have put off the price issue indefinitely and caused considerable loss to the national economy by assessing industrial units at the old rates.

Resettlement of prices must be carried on to its ultimate phase, must win over other concepts, because economic reform and transition to a market economy are unconceivable without prices apt to reflect the state of the economy.

* National Bank Governor on Monetary Policy

91BA0131A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 15 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Mugur Isarescu, governor of Romania's National Bank, by Gheorghe Cercelescu; place and date not given]

[Text] [Cercelescu] Governor, in 1990 Romania exported less than it imported. What happened to the balance of payments, how much did it deteriorate? Will we incur more foreign debt, as we often hear it said?

[Isarescu] We were asked the same thing in Basel, where we went to normalize our relations with the International Regulations Bank [IRB]. We discussed with the bank board of directors issues concerning the economic reform in Romania in general and the banking reform in particular, as well as a series of questions concerning

IRB's possible contribution to the process of transition in our country, also by granting us credits.

One subject we discussed separately was the situation of our foreign balance of payments and what we plan to do to improve it. I told them that from a $2.5 billion a year surplus in the past we now have a deficit that rose to $600-800 million in the first six months of 1990. According to our estimates, the annual deficit will be approximately $1.2 billion alone in our relations with the West.

[Cercelescu] How do you explain such an extreme deterioration, $3-4 billion in only one year?

[Isarescu] There are objective causes and subjective causes. The first category includes internal consumption, which the former regime had practically eliminated. When imports were liberalized, it became clear that domestic demand was extraordinarily big. But had it been only the consumption the balance of payments would undoubtedly not have become so bad. However, simultaneously with the increase in consumption, which I would describe as normal, another, utterly unnatural phenomenon appeared: a dramatic drop in production and export.

[Cercelescu] The hard currency deficit is a reality, so the problem now is to eliminate it. How? Will we fall back on foreign credit?

[Isarescu] The problem is not whether to take out loans or not, but whether we can obtain loans. Our country's political image abroad has not been mended and our economic situation continues to arouse doubts. Moreover, we have been absent from the credit market for a long time; no one is waiting for us with open arms. On the contrary, the struggle in this respect is fiercer than ever, and the East European countries are among our stiffest competitors. We must also remember the negative phenomena that have emerged in the world.

What happened in the first seven to nine months, when we imported without even asking whether we had the means to make foreign payments, will no longer be possible in the future. So far our imports were backed by our currency reserves, which have now been exchausted and we don't have any other. From now on we can import more than we export only if we secure financing resources first. The National Bank will endeavor to restore the currency reserves as quickly as possible, because without such reserves we will have enormous difficulties in the current international conditions.

[Cercelescu] If the credit market is so inaccessible, especially to us, how will we manage to overcome the current economic-financial impasse?

[Isarescu] Together with the IMF we are working on a program called 'Economic Reform, Adjustment, and Stabilization,' whereby adjustment refers to improving the balance of payments. To help with the program the IMF will grant Romania an important credit, over $1 million over three years. The credit will be mainly used to build a healthier basis for the national currency and make it convertible. We will not tolerate any deviation from the objectives pursued through the credits contracted by the government. Anyone who wants to import more that he exports—be it an autonomous management, commercial firm, or private enterprise—must first obtain financing, and convenient financing at that.

[Cercelescu] But what will happen with economic factors that do not now have currency resources nor are they capable of attracting foreign resources?

[Isarescu] The program I mentioned before envisages two essential points: 1) the operation of the price mechanism, whereby prices will become flexible and their fluctuations will lead toward efficiency criteria; and 2) the operation of the exchange rate mechanism in the relationship between domestic and foreign prices. Concerning the exchange rate mechanism, the leu was recently devalued. Why? The rate of 21 lei for the dollar was not functional. Import prices were becoming equal to domestic prices. To tell you the truth, I don't know what exchange rate was used for imports in Romania both before and after the Revolution. Through the equalization it probably came to 10-12 lei the dollar. Consequently, enterprises could not afford such expensive imports. The present rate of 35 lei the dollar is not real either, but we reasoned that the shock to importers was already great enough. However, in order to find the real value of the leu in relation to other currencies, we will soon organize a currency market, and we will gradually guide the official rate toward the rate indicated by the economic signals we will be getting.

The organization of a parallel currency market will be based on Law No. 15, which states that enterprises can keep some of their export revenues—50 percent as of 1 January 1991. Thus, half of the currency revenues of an exporting enterprise will automatically be deducted by the bank at the official rate of 35 lei for one dollar, while the other half can be kept in the bank as a hard currency reserve. The enterprises will then be able to use the respective hard currency for free imports, which will not require special import licenses.

Now let us get back to your question: Economic agents who won't have the necessary hard currency resources for imports will be able to procure them on the parallel market. There they will also find enterprises wiling to buy lei for dollars or marks. That is because the export revenues that enterprises are allowed to keep in foreign currency—i.e., 50 percent thereof—is not just profit. Out of that amount they have to pay some wages, taxes, or raw materials purchased in the domestic market, and all those payments are in lei. Thus, the enterprise will need to exchange a certain percentage of the second half into lei.

[Cercelescu] That is very good, because when the leu is in demand it also gets more respect. But what if the enterprises choose to keep their hard currency and take out loans to cover their needs in lei?

[Isarescu] Before taking such a step they will have to do some serious calculations. The banking law will introduce financial discipline for enterprises. Low interest—three-four percent—loans will no longer be granted as was the case in the past. Interest rates will be on a par with the international market: 10-12 percent. In such conditions, the enterprises will be forced to sell some of their disposable hard currency.

[Cercelescu] How will the parallel market work?

[Isarescu] It will begin to work with auctions, which we will organize in the hall that today houses the National Bank counters. Commercial banks, including foreign banks with branches in our country will participate in the auctions. Participation licenses will also be granted to various currency exchange houses. Anyone can participate in auctions through the banks, which have currency markets throughout the world. If in the beginning we don't have sufficient banks, or if they will not be able to handle the entire load because of personnel shortage, we will accept major enterprises with considerable disposable currency reserves.

[Cercelescu] An average rate will emerge on the currency market; how high do you estimate it may get?

[Isarescu] The average rate depends on several factors. I think that at the beginning it will be around 80 lei the dollar. The state will have to regulate the exchange rate, but the National Bank cannot be left out in the future. The national currency rate, i.e., the price of prices, the price of a national economy vis-a-vis other countries is not just any price. You cannot allow the currency to slip too low, because its rate may become lower that it really is. At the same time, one can land in a very dangerous inflationary spiral. We view the official rate as a kind of safety valve, too.

[Cercelescu] Governor, what other reasons were considered when it was decided to have two exchange rates, an official one and one for the currency market?

[Isarescu] First of all I must tell you that we view this mechanism as something temporary, intended for a limited period of time. In the not too distant future the official exchange rate will come closer and finally merge with that of the currency market. This is the way to achieve convertibility for the leu, something that we think Romania needs in view of our extremely low currency reserves and the political problems existing about Romania's integration in Europe and in the world.

Secondly there is the vital problem of importing energy, raw materials, and other essential goods in order to pull Romania out of its profound crisis. At the risk of repeating myself I want to state that for these imports, which will be made at the official exchange rate, the leu could not have been devaluated even more without risking a paralyzing shock to the entire national economy. The effective devaluation for most imports was not just from 21 to 35 lei the dollar, i.e., 75 percent, but far greater. Moreover, neither economic theory nor practice are in favor of beginning to float a currency from too low a level, because one risks causing a genuine price explosion.

As for the currency market, it will be organized, among other things, in order to provide us with early signals about the real rate of the leu. But let's consider what will happen with exporters. For half of their export revenues they will receive 35 lei for one dollar, and for the other half probably 80 lei. So the median will be 55-60 lei for the dollar. From about 45 lei the dollar and up some of the exporters begin to cover their expenses and make a profit. At 60 lei the dollar many of them become profitable. Importers who will obtain the hard currency they need at market value will indeed have to think twice whether they can afford to buy and how much in foreign markets, or begin to look for domestic suppliers who could deliver goods of comparable quality. But since exporters are generally importers, too, the more they will export the more currency resources they will have from which to pay for imports.

The balance between the domestic and foreign markets will be achieved through the ratio between domestic prices, exchange rates, and foreign prices. We, however, will have to do a lot of calculating, tens of thousands of calculations, in order to be up to date on the real situation at any given moment. Why were there deficits in our commercial balance in the past? Because the exchange rate of the leu was overestimated, which meant that it was more profitable to import than to export. If Romania's economy is today blocked, one reason is that it is not exporting anymore.

[Cercelescu] Governor, how will the state use its own hard currency reserves?

[Isarescu] Some of them will be used to cover imports required for the national economy—raw materials, energy, and key technologies—and the rest will be used to restock our currency reserves which, as I said, play a very important role in the current international economic situation.

Court Rejects Andruta Ceausescu's Appeal

AU1812191490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1636 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/12/1990—On Tuesday the Supreme Court rejected the appeal of defendant Nicolae Andruta Ceausescu against the ruling of the Military Section of that court, which sentenced him to 15 years in prison for very grave attempted murder and incitement to genocide not carried into effect.

* Defense Ministry Communique on CADA

91P20043B Bucharest AZI in Romanian 24 Nov 90 p 5

[Communique of Ministry of National Defense]

[Text] Recently, some officers, members of the former Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army

[CADA], disregarding the decisions of the Government of Romania, and the Higher Military Council of the Army and the orders of the minister of national defense, have intensified their destabilizing activity by the publication of denigrating material about the army and its leadership, launching appeals aimed at creating confusion among the military in regard to the evolution of the armed forces after the victory of the Revolution, sowing distrust among cadres with command functions, and diminishing the capacity of the military to carry out the missions entrusted to it for defending the rule of law. Through individual or group actions, these officers disinform the military and the public about the status of the military institution and incite them to insubordination.

Destabilizing actions have increased in recent weeks. We are talking about the 11 November meeting at the headquarters of the Group for Social Dialog in which 12 officers, former members of CADA, participated; the "protest" published in ROMANIA LIBERA on 18 November 1990; and the "statement" published in the same newspaper on 12 November.

At the meeting, in which representatives of parties and nonpolitical groups, and Romanian and foreign journalists participated, unsubstantiated, malevolent accusations were made against the military leadership and denigrating statements were made against the government and the institution of the presidency. The demand of some civilian participants in the meeting that officers "move from words to deeds" was not rejected openly by them. It has become evident that some members of the former CADA are periodically intensifying their actions, correlating them with those of forces which are initiating actions of an undemocratic nature, by which they aim at endangering the rule of law in the country. To their credit, the army cadres did not respond to the insistent appeals made by the organizers of the meeting, including those in the press.

The "protest" confirms the aggressive, ultimatum-style, unacceptable character of the positions adopted by the members of the former CADA and its interference in problems which cannot be resolved in a viable manner, thus violating the operational principles of the Army. Although they accepted the new oath adopted by Parliament and solemnly pledged to respect it, now they are denying it, betraying the principles of the state of law. Also, they are demanding that associations of military cadres be established with attributes which are not even accepted in armies in the West, since they would make the principle of unity of command inoperable, thus endangering the combat capability of the Army. For the obvious purpose of creating dissension in the Army they continue to capitalize on certain confused situations and mistakes which occurred in the period after the Revolution, although they know that measures have been taken which have already brought about broad positive changes in the army. They do not want to note the tolerance which has been shown to them so far, in the hope that they will return to a responsible behavior, which will not play into the hands of those who want to divide the country.

The latest "statement" is made in the name of CADA although the great majority of the members of this committee dropped out many months ago when they realized that, while invoking correct principles, CADA actually aims to make the army subservient to the destabilizing forces in the country.

Although the leadership of the Army has repeatedly stated its support and continually acted to ensure appropriate conditions for carrying out the specific missions assigned to the Army, and ensuring law and order in the state, not like a police force, demanding that the principles of political democracy be respected so as not to destroy the renewal process in progress, the "statement" makes denigrating assertions in regard to the blackmailing and patronizing of the Army by the political power, assertions which will mislead the people about the position of the Army and disorient and intimidate the military personnel. This game has not been and will not be successful; in recent months, with increasing insistence, Army cadres have been demanding that these officers be transferred to the reserves since they are obviously violating military norms. The lack of military honor of the authors of the "statement," whom the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA does not call by name, is revealed by the blackmailing which they attempt when they state that if the persons transferred to the reserves are not brought back into the Army, "CADA feels obliged to call the attention of the leadership of the country and of public opinion to concrete evidence of the guilt of those whose removal we demand." Thus, they supposedly hid important data, up to now, solely to save their situation. Then how do they dare to maintain that the generals named in the "statement" have "sacrificed the great interests of the Army" for personal protection? The truth is that these generals, like the great majority of military personnel, are firmly situated on positions which evolve from the principles of the state of law, convinced that if they were to accept the violence of the street, the country would be in chaos, with tragic consequences for the Romanian people, which would also endanger the territorial integrity of the state.

The personnel of the Army, which, in December 1989, showed social discernment and devotion to the people, do not accept the dishonoring assertions of this small group of officers who, by their attitude toward the appeal of the Army of Transylvania, revealed that they have an antinational position. The Romanian Army is united and observes the principle of neutrality toward the political parties and insistently demands that they do not attempt to intimidate and disorient it.

In light of the flagrant incompatibility between the position of a military man and the stands taken by some officers who, by their actions, are situating themselves outside the healthy organism of the Army, analyzing the actions undertaken by them up to the present, keeping in

mind the decisions of the Higher Military Council of the Army of 11 June 1990 and 13 November 1990, their chiefs (commanders) have presented proposals for their transfer to the reserves. The Ministry of National Defense approved the proposals.

* Defense Ministry's Reaction to CADA Scored

91BA0150B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27 Nov 90 p 2

[Article by Constantin Chiticaru: "Bayonet Attack"]

[Text] YES, unlike December 1989, when all the ammunition distributed was used to create panic among the population, the Ministry of National Defense [MND], prompted by the "nation's elected leaders," is mounting a bayonet attack on so-called destabilizing national traitors in the Army.

In the course of the "Current Events" program of 22 November 1990 we were read a decision to send to reserve duty certain members of CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army] at the suggestion of their commanding officers. More precisely, the measure was decided on 22 November 1990, but the commanding officers requested they be sent to the reserves on 23 November 1990, something that had been approved the previous day. That's exactly like going to the kiosk to buy tomorrow's newspaper! The only person who can write a retirement report is one's immediate superior, while others can only suggest it. Why weren't the officers in question named by name? That was the proof of the above statement. Some "hostile" commanding officers might not have complied with the recommendations, and that would have left those above them stuck about the decision and forced them to reshuffle unit commanders until they found a "friendly" person to carry out "democratic decisions."

The solution could have been for the minister of national defense to do it, since he has that right, as was demonstrated in other cases, but he didn't want to expose himself to "violent attacks" even from former colleagues who are now in the reserves. Yes, I told some colleagues, war veterans, who decided that one of them, chosen by drawing lots, will set himself on fire if CADA officers go into the reserves. This is the message that Mr. V.A. Stanculescu received prior to 15 November 1990, and of course it was better to put the blame on the Higher Military Council and let it take the consequences, since it takes decisions but its membership is not published anywhere, while the minister complied and approved the decision. Maybe he was constrained to approve, in which case we may ask ourselves: what is the constraint to which the general has to bow (the Timisoara file, or his activities as head of the Department of Military Procurement)?

The decision scores the following actions as unworthy of the military uniform:

1. Ignoring the decisions of the government, the MND, and the defense minister (but how are we to interpret Mr. Stanculescu's statement that the CADA Committee will dissolve itself as soon as its appeal is fulfilled—the CADA members struggled precisely in order to implement this appeal, an appeal that was almost completely rejected!)

2. The publication of slanderous material about the Army (if the higher military leadership, who harmed and compromised it now and under the old regime think that they are the Army, they are totally mistaken).

3. Creating confusion among the ranks (when you come to separate the wheat from the chaff, when you carry out an act of justice and truth, what you leave behind is order, not confusion).

4. Mistrust of leadership cadres (who joined the revolutionaries? The pen pushers, or the men in the streets? Are these the criminal blunders hanging over the heads of those whom CADA represents?).

5. Impairing the capability of the military apparatus (when you strip the company of those who stammer, stutter, or have no musical hearing the song can only sound clearer, purer, and stronger, Messrs. patriots who supported only the rulers, not the fate of this nation). This dilution of capability affects public order keeping, too. Comrade generals, only in socialist countries can the Army defend public order through subtle maneuvers. The only mission of the Army is to defend the country's borders and territory against any aggressor and to intervene in case of natural disasters. That's all!

Gentlemen of the Higher Military Council, your communique on television contained many incorrect statements that I want to point out to you:

—The officers who attended the GDS [Group for Social Dialogue] press conference of 11 November 1990 had the permission of Minister Lieutenant General V.A. Stanculescu, requested and obtained through Lieutenant Colonel Octavian Chiriac.

—The officers members of CADA and ADM, which merged in view of their common beliefs, did not make the accusations cited. You could have listened to the tape recording made rather than take the word of "rumormongers."

—You stated that to their credit, the Army cadres did not respond to the incitements to rebellion. How did they hear of them? Through the "rumormongers"" press?

—You stated that the officers in question denied the oath adopted by Parliament. What parliament, gentlemen? Are you confusing the Parliament with the former CPUN [Provisional National Unity Council] because they have the smell rose scent? You forget that many officers did not sign that imposed oath and that, upon "friendly advice" that they will be ousted from the Army, most of them unwillingly signed it with fingers

crossed behind their back in some anonymous office, not before the combat flag. At the same time, you forget how many discussions and appeals CADA organized to bring up for consideration possible oath versions suggested by its members ever since March; this is precisely what the Associations of Military Cadres, which you condemned, established: a clear delimitation between the principle of unified command and safeguarding the dignity and honor of military cadres vis-a-vis this principle, not its violation.

—CADA allegedly is taking advantage of confusions and mistakes made after 22 December. What mistakes, comrade leaders? That a unit that participated in suppressing the demonstrators was honored with the title of hero? That people who showed excessive zeal in suppressing the demonstrators were promoted in rank and position? That the Army took over all those who shot in the streets (terrorists or so-called terrorists) and allowed them to escape, that it protected the legions of miners summoned by the people's "ruler elect" to suppress Bucharest, that once again soldiers are sent to do agricultural work, that...etc.? These are mistakes or confusions that should be seized upon.

—You stated that extensive positive changes have already been carried out in this Army (!!!?). On what street, gentlemen of the Higher Military Council?

—You stated that most officers have withdrawn from CADA. How do you know that? Do you have written applications along this line, or information from the Military Intelligence Department? The situation, at least in Timisoara, gives you the lie.

—You stated that they were using correct principles in order to subordinate the Army to destabilizing forces. Messrs. generals, CADA didn't use correct principles, it requested their implementation. It is in order to have them implemented in the Army that CADA is struggling, and that cannot subordinate it to anyone.

—You stated that the Army must fulfill its specific missions CORRECTLY. But who was it that made it fulfill a nonspecific mission, namely dealing with public order, DEMOCRACY or the POLITICAL RULERS?

—The data obtained was not kept hidden; it concerned the files compiled by the governmental commission which investigated the Army's implication in the December events in Timisoara, inconvenient files to certain cadres, received from other garrison in the country, where they wanted—but didn't manage to get—such commissions out of the way, as well as other data that the military prosecutor's office put on ice. They are used to blackmail some military commanders, and we can guess whom.

—When public order is violated in some Bucharest street (and we know who is behind such actions) the government or the president may fall, but the country's safety is not threatened. They are not the country, the people are the country. They are there to serve the people, who unfortunately may sometimes hold the power.

—The position taken by CADA against the declaration of the Army of Transylvania was not antinational; correctly it stated and read: a position against a NATIONALISTIC and CHAUVINISTIC incitement.

—The military body can be healthy when all the parts are healthy, including the head, the head from which all the undemocratic measures actually sprang, the head that was bowed before the old regime, too.

Consequently, gentlemen, stop spewing words with the slingshot of a wooden tongue and try raising your grandchildren on: "in my time..." Have faith in those who care for this nation and want to serve it by demanding the democratization and purge of the Romanian Army, a former party Army through its representatives, i.e., through you, comrades, whose breath will be cut by this bayonet attack.

And the saddest thing for you is what you are forgetting, namely that CADA is a phenomenon, a phenomenon that may be blocked or slowed down but cannot be eliminated, just as democracy in Romania can no longer be diverted from its advance path.

Ratiu Accuses U.S. Congressman of Spreading Lies

AU1912102090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0932 GMT 19 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/12/1990—Around 1988, Mr. Lantos was the soul of a big anti-Romanian demonstration in Washington, participated in by over 1,600 American Hungarians, revealed Cluj Deputy Ion Ratiu of the Christian Democratic National Peasant Party in the foreign policy commission of Romania's Parliament, announces the independent daily ADEVARUL on December 19. The highlight of the action, the daily goes on, was the allegation that eleven Hungarian villages in Transylvania were already destroyed by the famous Ceausist [Ceaucescu] bulldozers. The piece of information was then reproduced also in important publications across the ocean. Mr. Ratiu stated, checking that information, that everything was a perfect lie, as the respective settlements were untouched then as they are now. It is clear, the paper writes, that Mr. Ratiu's disclosure casts new light on Mr. Tom Lantos' statement.

Trade Cooperation Accord Signed With Poland

AU1812201990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1657 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/12/1990—On Tuesday Bucharest hosted the signing of the accord between Romania's Government and the Government of the Polish Republic on the trade and payment relations for 1991 as well as the protocol concerning the settlement of mutual debts and obligations in the payment relations existing on December 31, 1990.

In his address on the occasion, Mr. Napoleon Pop, secretary of state, chief of the Foreign Trade Department, who signed the documents for Romania, underscored that the accord and protocol between Romania and Poland established the coordinates of the future relations. I express my hope, he said, that these documents proving the new relations between our countries will strengthen bilateral contacts and expand multilateral collaboration. These documents also reflect the good relations between our countries as well as the wish to continue them.

In his turn, Mr. Dariusz Ledworowski, deputy minister of foreign economic relations, who signed the documents for Poland, said: The new principles at the basis of the documents we have signed today ensure the access to trade of all enterprises. There is no monopoly for any side's trade enterprises. During my visit I exchanged opinions on privatisation, a field where I think our future relations will be decisive. Next year, which will be a transition year for us, too, we consider that the volume of trade exchanges will decrease but we foresee a rapid revival owing also to the stipulations in these documents.

Bulgarian President Zhelev Discusses Relations

AU1712164790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1454 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—We are very keen on our good relations with Romania. Our relations date back to the time of Bulgarian resurrection which, the way we know it, would not have existed but for Romania, stated Zhelyu Zhelev, Bulgaria's president in an interview to the ROMPRES envoy to Sofia.

Our emigration, he stressed, the best of them, were in Romania, it was in Romanian territory that they made the preparations for Bulgaria's liberation. To a great extent, the cradle of Bulgarian revival, as well as of its growing ripe, was in Romania, at Braila, Bucharest, Giurgiu and other cities. And so, in our new political history Romania is an inseparable part. We therefore say we cannot imagine the Bulgarian resurrection without Romania, the president said.

That is why, the slight conflicts that have an ecological source are a little embarrassing and I think we should try and seek out modalities to settle them, not to allow such particular, secondary issues generate tensions, the Bulgarian head of state opined. Some way or other, they are not confined to a city or zone only, they tell upon the relations of whole nations. There should not be such problems between Romania and Bulgaria. Our relations should not be clouded, we should have bright relations. We have nothing against Romania. Apart from the past which so closely relates the two of us, I think we have common interests also for the future, in a united Europe and in the Balkans.

As for a possible meeting with Mr. Iliescu, said President Zhelev, I have personally invited him twice for a meeting. So, he is welcome whenever he thinks suitable.

Draft Declaration on Future National System

LD1812180490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0920 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—The working group of the SFRY's Assembly's Commission for Constitutional Issues has completed work on a draft declaration on Yugoslavia's future system. The declaration is expected to create conditions for a peaceful, democratic, and legal way for overcoming the constitutional crisis.

The SFRY Assembly's constitutional commission is expected to meet on 27 December. One day later, on 28 December, delegates in the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber will discuss the declaration and present their views of it.

The following is the full text of the draft declaration.

Having determined that the present state of economic, political, and constitutional relations in Yugoslavia threatens the future implementation of social and economic reforms and their objective of ensuring the country's more prosperous future development, and that relations in the Yugoslav community must be arranged in a new way if the crisis is to be overcome;

—Having noted that the republics have adopted different concepts of the way in which future relations in Yugoslavia are to be arranged;

—Having concluded that individual republics have been adopting solutions and taking measures unacceptable to other republics and in total disregard of the interests of other Yugoslav nations and nationalities; that efforts are being made to unilaterally impose these solutions and measures on others; and that all this serves to threaten coexistence in and the integrity of the country, to deny the right to national equality, to threaten democratic processes, to cause interethnic conflicts, and to hamper democratic negotiations on new arrangements in Yugoslavia;

—Having taken note of the fact that in democratic Yugoslavia of equal nations and nationalities, there exist conditions for all Yugoslav people to fulfill more successfully their economic, national, historic and other interests and that in all the republics there prevails desire, interest, and readiness to remain within the framework of democratic Yugoslavia of equal nations and nationalities, providing the following provisions are fully guaranteed: democratic relations, sovereign rights, the equality of nations and nationalities, and the kind of relations which would guarantee the recognition of these rights;

—In concerted democratic efforts to outline the guarantees for national integrity and equality, to prevent the imposition of unilateral solutions, and to provide the basis for security and for vitallyxneeded trust among Yugoslav nations and republics and—on the basis of that trust—to rearrange relations within the Yugoslav community:

In line with its constitutional responsibilities and in view of the fact that it has been endorsed by: the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Assembly of the SR of Montenegro, the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, the Assembly of the SR of Macedonia, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, (add the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo and the Assembly of the SAP of Vojvodina as an alternative), the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber is adopting the following declaration:

1. The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly and the republican assemblies will jointly decide and pledge to shape relations within the Yugoslav community in a new way, in a negotiated, peaceful, legal, and democratic manner within the framework of full mutual respect and trust.

2. The republican assemblies will pledge that, in the course of drafting and endorsing documents which will shape relations in Yugoslavia in a new manner, they will contribute to mutual trust and to finding resolutions acceptable for everyone through constructive and substantiated proposals and, tolerance and full respect for differences and special interests.

They will commence negotiations while fully respecting the equality of all republics, without imposing their will upon others and conditioning the talks, and without bigotry, issuing ultimatums and conducting a policy of fait accompli.

3. When drafting and endorsing documents which will shape relations in Yugoslavia in a new way, the republican assemblies and the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly will consistently respect national identity; the right of nations to self-determination, including the right to secession under jointly outlined conditions; the principle of acting on one's own free will; economic, political and cultural subjectivity; and the sovereignty of republics.

Alternative: Article 1, is omitted.

Until documents which will determine relations in Yugoslavia in a new way, the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all republics, and the inviolability and immutability of inter-republican borders will be observed.

4. The document which will determine relations in Yugoslavia in a new way will be adopted by the democratically elected Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly and the republican assemblies.

This document will:

—Entrust upon bodies of the Yugoslavia community functions which are in the interest of all republics, Yugoslav nations, and nationalities, and which must be carried out at the federal level for the sake of country's prosperity;

—Set out that the Yugoslav bodies carry out functions entrusted to them in a manner which respects national identity, republican independence, and equality; and that the document which determines in a new manner constitutional relations and the decisionmaking process when vital decisions are being made for political subjectivity and sovereignty of republics, is adopted unanimously by the Yugoslav Assembly;

—Set out principles, solutions, and instruments which will enable bodies to exercise efficiently entrusted functions.

Alternative Article 2 is omitted.

5. When establishing joint interests and functions to be carried out by common bodies, the following will be taken into account:

—The needs and demands of the market economy and its optimum development;

—The necessity and duty to ensure the freedom of entrepreunership and economic independence and equality among economic subjects on the entire territory of Yugoslavia;

—A decision to provide more effective conditions for a broader association in the European and other integrations and for a more successful and more equal participation in economic, financial, and other business relations with abroad.

—A necessity and an obligation of society to provide complete protection of universal human rights and freedoms based on European standards, including a right to political pluralistic association and work.

6. Those assemblies that did not agree to amendments 49 to 73 to the SFRY Constitution are required to examine the amendments at their next session and to agree to them, or at least to those amendments that establish the cessation of validity of those present constitutional provisions which represent an obstacle to further consistent realization of economic and political reforms, human rights and freedoms, and a basis for multiparty elections for the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber.

7. In the course of the work on and until the adoption of a legal document which will define in a new way relations within Yugoslvia, republican assemblies are required to respect the present SFRY Constitution, i.e. the amended constitution and federal laws, to avoid the adoption of regulations which are not in accordance with the SFRY Constitution and the federal laws and to render ineffective—i.e. to avoid applying—those regulations or certain of their provisions that do not accord with the SFRY Constitution and federal laws.

Republican assemblies are required, in accordance with their responsibilities and powers, to establish stands, adopt decisions and act in such a way as to enable an unhampered functioning of federal bodies in the course of the work on and until the adoption of a legal document which will define relations within Yugoslavia in a new way.

8. The Federal Executive Council of the SFRY Assembly will, in accordance with its constitutional responsibilities and powers, initiate the work on a legal document which will define relations within Yugoslavia in a new way.

The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly and those bodies set up by the chamber will examine all initiatives and all proposals submitted by constitutionally empowered bodies, coordinate decisions and stands, and negotiate solutions acceptable to all concerned.

9. The work on the document which will define relations within Yugoslavia in a new way will start immediately, with the aim of presenting the draft document for public discussion until the end of the first half of 1991.

10. The declaration goes into effect on the day of its adoption by the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, and will be published in the SFRY official gazette.

President of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly

Prepublication of Kadijevic Interview Protested

AU1812203590 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 90 p 12

[Statement by DANAS editorial board: "Officers and Gentlemen"]

[Text] In line with the editorial concept whose first rule is to give every democratic and sovereign option the right to express an opinion, DANAS journalist Miroslav Lazanski agreed to an exclusive interview with Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense. It must be admitted that there were more than enough reasons for the interview. The immediate one was the rumor about the so-called "Topcider party," whose promotion was attended by the federal army minister and which, supposedly as the last defender of Yugoslavism and Yugoslavia, is to bring into line all those who do not fit into the scheme of the military vision of Yugoslavia. After all, there is already a lot of talk of an Army putsch and the violent resolution of the Yugoslav crisis in which the Army would play the deciding role. We wanted General Kadijevic to explain the position of the Yugoslav People's Army, even though his stands and decisions may not correspond in all respects to our vision of the resolution of the Yugoslav question.

However, with one ungentlemanly, impolite, unpolitical, and unprofessional move by Kadijevic's accompanying propaganda center, an attempt was made to pull us into games in which we do not want to take part. However, the interview, which was conceived of as an introduction to stories about the Army and as an attempt to hold a democratic discussion about such politically sensitive

and subtle subjects as the role of the Army in a multi-ethnic community, first saw the light of day elsewhere and only later in DANAS. In such a way, our publication—perhaps accidentally, although we suspect some serious intentions—was directly linked with plans which we do not want to sponsor or to promote. The only point in publishing this complete interview (obviously written and well-edited) is for the reader to have the opportunity to see in one place what minister Kadijevic has decided. Forget the exclusive tag; obviously when the Army wants to announce something, DANAS is too small its purposes.

Our TANJUG colleagues—of course—are not to blame for the fact that they received the whole text two days earlier with all the decorative additions, despite the fact that our colleague Miroslav Lazanski claims that the agreement on prior publication related to only 40 percent of the whole text.

We wanted all the media in the whole country to hear the opinions of the federal minister, and not just DANAS. The text did not arrive at the editorial office until Sunday morning [2 December] when the front page and most of the latest edition had already been printed in its complete run, but the mysteries which had been woven around this text constantly rattled with crucial state secrets. Thus, one member of the cabinet—regardless of his post—was constantly stressing his supra-state importance, although the SFRY Presidency has—perhaps weakly but nevertheless—advocated the democratization of political life in which questions of defense certainly play a primary role. After all, this body is still the supreme command—at least according to the federal Constitution to which General Kadijevic is so persistently committed.

Iraq Indicates Loncar 'Welcome at Any Time'

LD1812150290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1319 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Stevan Cordas report]

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—Official Baghdad has given a signal that Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar is "welcome at any time" in the Iraqi capital, as it has been learned from informed diplomatic sources in Belgrade.

It is believed that Baghdad's signal could lead to the resumption of the peace mission in the gulf which Yugoslavia, as country-chairman of the Non-aligned Movement, had launched a month ago.

Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Loncar a month ago visited Iran, the United Arab Emirates, Syria and Jordan, but his visit to Baghdad did not come about, as a result of which the assesments of the mission were not entirely positive.

Baghdad was most likely not interested in a dialogue at the time because of Yugoslavia's firm stand that Iraq, as the aggressor, must unconditionally withdraw from Kuwait. Opinions were also to be heard according to which Iraq did not have much faith in the ability of the Non-Aligned Movement to contribute to the quest of a solution to the gulf crisis.

The situation has changed in the meantime. The U.N. Security Council has adopted another resolution, practically giving the green light for a military option, should Iraq fail to withdraw from Kuwait by January 15. In such circumstances, time stopped working for Iraq, which Baghdad seems to be taking very seriously.

For the first time since August 2, when Iraq occupied Kuwait, the Iraqi president is beginning to make moves which show that not much time is left for a new maneuver.

Baghdad's first major move was to release all foreign hostages, a move which served more to ease the tense situation in the gulf than help resolve the crisis. The Iraqi president must now take a crucial decision and chose between keeping his troops in Kuwait and fighting a war with the United States, or taking a less painful course.

Not a few feel that the non-aligned countries could plan an important role in the solution of the gulf crisis in the current conditions, which would add another to the long list of the Yugoslav foreign secretary's responsibilities.

A new round of Loncar's peace mission in the gulf would not naturally include only Baghdad. Loncar would very likely visit also other directly involved gulf countries, such as Saudi Arabia.

The expectations placed in the possible resumption of Loncar's peace mission range from totally to moderately pessimistic. It is beyond doubt, however, that Loncar, being a very experienced politician, will not undertake a job doomed to fail in advance. Just as well, it is hardly likely that Baghdad would have sent a signal to Belgrade if it was not ready to do more than was the release of hostages.

Iraq's 'Aziz Receives Outgoing Envoy

LD1812211790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2029 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Baghdad, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—"We expect that Yugoslavia, as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, working actively with other countries, will contribute to peace and stability in the area." This was stressed today by [Iraqi] Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz when receiving a farewell visit from the outgoing Yugoslav Ambassador, Stojan Andov. The possibility of a visit to Baghdad soon by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of foreign affairs, was discussed. 'Aziz and Andov spoke highly of the present development of bilateral relations.

EC Grants $1.1 Billion Development Loan

LD1812172390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1448 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Brussels, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—The EC Council of Ministers has decided in Brussels today that, through the European Investment Bank, Yugoslavia should be granted a loan of 77 million ECU's (approximately $1.1 billion).

The decision has been made immediately before the beginning of a session of the Council for Cooperation between the EC and Yugoslavia, which will be attended by the EC ministers for foreign affairs and Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar.

The loan is predominantly devoted to the construction of main roads and railway lines in Yugoslavia and has been granted under very favorable conditions.

The EC has decided to earmark from its budget as compensation for interest 77 million ECU's—provided that in the meantime administrative obstacles to road traffic between Greece and their European partners through Yugoslavia are removed.

It has been learned in Brussels that an agreement on this issue should be reached shortly.

Tudjman Plans Croatian Representation in Vienna

AU1912095890 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 19 Dec 90 p 2

[APA report: "Croatia Will Also Establish Representation in Vienna"]

[Text] Agram—Following Slovenia, Croatia will also establish a representation office in Vienna. This was announced by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in an interview with the Finnish daily AAMULETHI. As Tudjman further stated, a referendum on the future of the republic will be unnecessary in Croatia—in contrast to Slovenia—since the new constitution will be adopted at the end of the week: "Like the referendum in Slovenia, the new constitution solves the sovereignty problem." In view of the critical economic situation, Tudjman expects the Yugoslav currency to break down very soon.

Croatian Law on Possession of Arms Amended

LD1812202290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1723 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—At its session this afternoon, the government of the Republic of Croatia agreed on changes and amendments to the law on obtaining, possessing, and carrying arms and had them sent to the Croat Assembly for urgent adoption. Under the amended law, arms which citizens already possess have been legalized, citizens are allowed to obtain weapons for protecting private and socially owned property, and the Internal Affairs Ministry is now responsible for the trade in weapons and ammunition and for issuing the relevant permits.

The decision to legalize the possession of arms is designed to enhance security and to tighten the internal affairs organs' control over weapons. The amended law guarantees that all those who declare arms within three months after the law comes into effect will not be subjected to any legal sanctions. This however does not apply to weapons obtained through a criminal act. Firearm certificates will from no on be issued without the need to declare the origin of arms.

About 1,500 to 2,000 illegal weapons are seized in Croatia annually.

Kucan, Peterle, Bucar on Future Setup, Plebiscite

AU1812173790 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Here is a report on the news conference held in Ljubljana Cankar Hall today. Milan Kucan, Dr. France Bucar, and Lojze Peterle answered questions asked by Yugoslav and foreign journalists which concerned the Sunday plebiscite, and acquainted the journalists with the talks they had with the Croatian leadership in the morning. Vesna Burnik reports on the news conference:

[Burnik] The talks with the Croats concerned the session of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber which should discuss the Slovene plebiscite and the security-political situation in Yugoslavia.

Slovenia has denied the Federal Chamber the right to discuss the Slovene plebiscite, after agreeing on the Letter on Good Intentions concerning talks with republican leaderships including Serbia, which has still not agreed to such a meeting.

Both the Croat and Slovene delegations have also established that the federal leadership has had no real legitimacy since the time the Kosovo Assembly was abolished. Exactly for the very reason that it is one of the generators of the Yugoslav crisis, this assembly must be one of the sides at the talks about the future image of Yugoslavia.

They also discussed questions about the future of the Federal Assembly. The Assembly's term of office will expire sooner or later and one should discuss what to do with it.

Of course, most questions concerned the Sunday plebiscite. [Words indistinct] whether the decision in favor of an independent Slovenia also means an immediate separation from Yugoslavia and whether a change in processes in Yugoslavia would mean changes in the process of integration in Europe.

Milan Kucan, Lojze Peterle, and France Bucar have made assurances that what is involved is a confirmation of sovereignty and independence of Slovenia and its

people which cannot be acquired at the cost of equal rights enjoyed by other Yugoslav peoples or others in Europe. They have also stressed that in these changing processes in Europe and our country, the confederation is more and more acceptable.

In reply to the question asked by our radio on whether they see any possibility for a confederal agreement now with such an outcome in the elections in Serbia and Montenegro, Milan Kucan said that the proponents of the idea of a centralized federation have won. However, at least because of its own opposition, Serbia will not be able to refuse talks with other parts of Yugoslavia for long.

Dr. Bucar pointed out that by proposing the confederate agreement, Slovenia and Croatia have proved that they are not breaking up Yugoslavia. Lojze Peterle added that with its Constitution and other measures, Serbia has in fact become most independent of all, and that negotiations are necessary because of that. Anyway, [words indistinct] of the opinion that the two concepts, the federation and confederation, do not make talks about life together possible, but only those about separation.

Presidency Deems Slovene Plebiscite Illegal

LD1812191790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency met today, presided over by President Dr. Borisav Jovic, to discuss the announced plebiscite on autonomy and independence of the Republic of Slovenia.

A press statement from the session reads:

In light of the law and other documents of the Republic of Slovenia which regulate or closely explain the political, constitutional, and legal importance of the announced plebiscite, the SFRY Presidency maintains that it represents a secession of the Republic of Slovenia from the SFRY, which is an unconstitutional and unilateral move, and by which Slovenia is trying to impose a solution upon other Yugoslav republics as a fait accompli, irrespective of their rights and interests.

The SFRY Presidency again stresses that a nation's right to self- determination, including secession, is not contentious, that all nations in Yugoslavia are sovereign, and that no solutions will be or can be imposed upon any nation if they are not in accordance with the nation's freely expressed will and interests. However, the SFRY Presidency cannot accept a unilateral application of the self-determination principles of nations which is not prescribed in the SFRY Constitution and legal regulations. It is unacceptable that the Slovene Assembly should ignore the interests of the other Yugoslav nations and efforts to find a way out of the crisis, with possible options for defining future relations between our nations, including the definition of a procedure for a possible secession. Thus it represents a crude refusal of and a real obstacle to the SFRY Presidency's started initiative whereby, upon the completion of multiparty elections in all republics, the whole procedure of constitutional reform within the SFRY would be implemented in a peaceful, democratic, and legal way based on the Constitution in which the SFRY Assembly and assemblies of all republics have a clear constitutionally based role and responsibility.

The SFRY Presidency can neither agree to nor accept anyone's unilateral actions which violate the constitutional and legal system and integrity of the country and its interests. Hence it called on the Federal Executive Council [FEC] to prepare and take, in cooperation with federal administration bodies, necessary measures which would protect these interests.

The SFRY Presidency also proposed to the SFRY Assembly to take appropriate measures in accordance with its constitutional power to protect the vital interests of the SFRY.

The SFRY Presidency agreed at today's session to the proposal by the FEC to pass as a temporary measure the law on changes and amendments to the foreign currency transaction law.

Said Ready To Protect Reform Process

AU1912120190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 19 Dec 90

[Olivija Rusovac report on Federal Assembly Chamber debate on "possible consequences of the plebiscite on Slovenia's autonomy and independence"; in Sofia—live]

[Text] About 15 delegates have taken part in the debate so far, but it is certainly most interesting to hear what members of the Federal Executive Council, Vlado Kambovski and Milivoje Maksic have said.

Kambovski said that the government will assess all consequences of the referendum from the point of view of the reforms and the federal Constitution. In the opinion of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] and the organs of the federation, the Law on Plebiscite cannot be granted legitimacy and legality. The FEC will take energetic measures with a view to protecting the reform, democracy, and joint interests of all peoples and citizens of Yugoslavia in conformity with the valid Constitution.

Kambovski agreed with the demand some delegates voiced during the debate to the effect that the Constitutional Court should assess the constitutionality of the Law on Plebiscite.

During the delegates' debate, one could also hear suggestions that Slovenia should give up the plebiscite or annul its results. (?Radivoje) Scekic was the only one to have said that he reproaches National Defense Secretary Veljko Kadijevic for failing to take the measures he mentioned in his interview.

Milivoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, spoke about the international aspect of the plebiscite. It would be difficult to oppose demands voiced by

Italian fascists. The German Reich regulation according to which every citizen of Slovenia can be granted citizenship under (?mild) conditions—which in fact means assimilation—is still valid in Germany.

During recent months, European diplomats did not want to hold talks with Slovene representatives, so some meetings were called off. Lawrence Eagleburger has said that Slovenia cannot survive economically, either as an exporter or an importer. Only united Yugoslavia enjoys support abroad and it is not a temporary support alone, but a strategic interest of Europe, Milivoje Maksic said at the session of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber.

Presidency's Views Said Divided

LD1912110690 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] We have learned from some quarters that the views within the federal Presidency were not as unanimous as reported by the central Yugoslav news agency. We have learned that the views were divided and some Presidency members took the view that neither the Constitution nor any other legal act either approves or bans the right to hold such a plebiscite. Moreover, our Belgrade correspondent, Bojan Veselinovic, has informed us that Yugoslav Presidency member Janez Drnovsek and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic have met to discuss the situation in Yugoslavia, its future setup, and forms of cooperation between Serbia and Slovenia. The details of their conversation are not yet known.

FEC Warns of Possible Consequences

LD1912114690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 19 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary for Justice Vlado Kambovski, speaking on behalf of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] at a session of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber today, warned Slovene state bodies of the major responsibility and risk which they are taking upon themselves before their own people "because of their unilateral secession from the Yugoslav community."

As regards the FEC and other federal bodies, Kambovski said, the consequences of the forthcoming plebiscite in Slovenia cannot obtain legitimacy and legal effectiveness, but will represent an introduction to an even more serious phase of political tensions.

He announced that on the basis of all consequences arising from the plebiscite and in accordance with the SFRY Constitution, the federal government will take energetic measures to protect the reforms and the mutual interests of all nations and nationalities.

Slovene Presidency Responds to Claims

LD1812203490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1944 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency quite arbitrarily interprets that the Slovene plebiscite is tantamount to an act of secession. This is stressed in a Slovene Presidency statement issued in reply to a statement from today's SFRY Presidency session.

The Slovene Presidency statement notes that the Presidency "learned about the SFRY Presidency's stances on the Slovene plebiscite through TANJUG. The federal Presidency arbitrarily interprets that the plebiscite is tantamount to secession. Such interpretation contradicts the law on plebiscites, a Slovene Assembly proclamation, and its statement of good intentions. The Slovene Republic unambiguously voiced its willingness that, as an independent state, it will offer all Yugoslav nations and their republics a confederal or some other model of joint relations, a model suited to their real interests. The SFRY Presidency again showed that it views a democratic settlement of the Yugoslav crisis and relations between the Yugoslav nations as an alien concept. The Slovene Presidency holds that through this act the SFRY Presidency is exerting political pressure on the Yugoslav public and the Slovene citizens on the eve of the plebiscite. The Slovene Presidency is convinced that, through taking part in the plebiscite and making a decision, the Slovene people and the entire population of Slovenia will give a dignified reply to such conduct and pressures of the SFRY Presidency."

Slovene Officials Explain Plebiscite

LD1812223790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2137 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—The presidents of the Presidency and Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia and the republican premier, Milan Kucan, Dr France Bucar and Lojze Peterle, respectively, said in the Slovenian capital of Ljubljana today that the forthcoming plebiscite on the republic's independence and autonomy did not mean secession from Yugoslavia.

The top-ranking Slovenian officials told the domestic and foreign press that, even if Slovenes declared themselves for autonomy in the plebiscite, Slovenia would still be a constituent part of Yugoslavia.

At a press conference held in connection with the plebiscite, called for December 23, the three officials pointed up the necessity of resolving the Yugoslav crisis in a new (confederal) agreement of Yugoslav republics.

President of the republican Presidency Milan Kucan said Slovenia wanted both the internal and external borders of Yugoslavia to remain unchanged.

President of the republican Assembly France Bucar described the plebiscite as an opportunity for a clear

expression of the will of the Slovene people and of their attitude to the future of Yugoslavia. According to Bucar, the plebiscite does not mean that Slovenia is a priori rejecting a confederal concept of Yugoslavia's future system.

We are not undermining Yugoslavia as a state, Bucar said and added that Slovenia, as an independent subject, would enter into agreements with the other Yugoslav republics and urge a confederation.

Republican Premier Lojze Peterle added that, on the basis of the results of the plebiscite, the Slovenian Assembly would adopt a constitutional amendment severing slovenia's ties with Yugoslavia. He, too, believes that sovereignty alone will enable Slovenia and the other Yugoslav republics to engage in 'normal' talks on the country's future.

Slovene Ministers React, Comment

AU1912134690 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 19 Dec 90

[Friedrich Orter report from Ljubljana]

[Excerpt] The political leadership in Ljubljana reacts coolly, but attentively to the statement by the State Presidium in Belgrade, according to which the referendum on Slovenia's independence and sovereignty planned for next Sunday [23 December] is unconstitutional.

Interior Minister Igor Bavcar said in an interview for ORF that the threat by State President Jovic has to be understood as a warning. It is an attempt to intimidate Slovenia's population before the plebiscite. However, it is also an alibi for Serbia's policy, which continues with its all-Yugoslavia orientation.

The Slovene interior minister accuses the Yugoslav president, the Serb Jovic, of deliberately briefing the Yugoslav public incorrectly on the developments in Slovenia. However, in Bavcar's opinion, the sharp words of Jovic and the generals will not achieve their goal.

No comment and no intention of the Yugoslav leadership can influence the result of this referendum, Slovene Deputy Defense Minister Jelko Kazin said. If the Yugoslav Army were to intervene in Slovenia, this would be the end of Yugoslavia and of the Yugoslav People's Army. Such a step would all the more justify Slovenia's secession, he said. [passage omitted]

Slovene 'Rescue' Mission to Republics Examined

AU1812165390 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 90 p 1

[Gojko Beric commentary: "Slovenes Rescuing Yugoslavia"]

[Text] With unusually brief stops characterized by haste and nervousness, the Slovene Assembly delegation visited four Yugoslav republics over the course of two days on a mission to explain the essence and meaning of the upcoming plebiscite in Slovenia. Serbia practically withdrew its hospitality to the representatives of the Slovene Assembly, the Assembly of Vojvodina declared itself unauthorized to hold talks on this topic, while there was no reply from Kosovo since the local provincial Assembly was dismissed a long time ago.

In Zagreb, the Slovenes received the expected understanding and support which was interpreted as "neighborly endorsement." In Sarajevo, the hosts listened to them and asked them several "sensitive" questions, while in Skopje, where the Slovenes and Macedonians held talks through interpreters for the first time since World War II, the representatives of the previous authorities told them that any arrangement of mutual relations that could imperil the statehood and sovereignty of the republics and internal borders of Yugoslavia would be unacceptable for Macedonia. The Slovenes spent the least amount of time in Titograd, which was only enough time for the two delegations to conclude that there are deep differences and disagreements in their stands.

It is not, however, clear why the otherwise rational Slovenes would venture into such a mission to hurriedly "rescue Yugoslavia," when the outcome was known in advance.

From this point of view the visit to Zagreb represented pure formalism in particular. It is even more difficult to understand the essence and meaning of this mission if one bears in mind the fact that the Slovene authorities consider an autonomous and independent Slovenia a fait accompli, and that its leading politicians, ranging from Milan Kucan to Janez Jansa, are making statements on almost a daily basis with which they are clearly letting everybody know that Yugoslavia's most developed republic is already "packing its suitcases" since, as they say, after the victory of Milosevic in Serbia and of the communists in Montenegro, a confederation "is no longer entirely possible."

The paradox lies in the fact that the aforementioned Slovene "peace initiative" was actually motivated by the Slovenes' wish to finally leave the commune of Yugoslav tribes. The only real puzzle that should be resolved before carrying out their wish is how to rid themselves of the label of the breakers of Yugoslavia. Until they succeed in this they will be afraid of those who are ready, before they leave Yugoslavia, to subject them to a real hell. The Slovenes would therefore like those staying in Yugoslavia, instead of creating difficulties and even taking revenge, to sincerely wish them a happy journey to Europe.

However, the time of brotherly love among the Yugoslav peoples has gone. Elections have been carried out and Yugoslavia has become not only a nationally but also an ideologically hopelessly divided country. Political communications between its quarreling republics and peoples are founded on the inflexible offering of those options and models which one knows in advance the other side will not accept at any price. Therefore, apart

from the fact they contain good intentions, we fear that the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency published two days ago, that "an agreement on all essential questions on living together can be reached," give the impression of being politically color blind. The thing is, everybody simply wants to satisfy their own conscience before Yugoslavia formally disintegrates and in doing these "moral exercises" they are using all available means. Regarding Slovenes and their mission of "rescuing Yugoslavia," this is obviously only a consequence of their wish to be more zealous in this ill-started job than the others.

Slovenia's Jansa Interviewed on Army Intentions

AU1812194390 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 90 p 5

[Interview with Slovene Defense Minsiter Janez Jansa by Milan Jelovac and Veceslav Kocijan; place and date not given: "The Yugoslav People's Army Cannot Take Power"; first paragraph is VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] Janez Jansa, one of the four men who were accused (and convicted) of espionage is currently the Slovene national defense secretary. We spoke with him about a recent interview by Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense.

[VJESNIK] What do you have to say about Kadijevic's threat to disarm the Territorial Defense Force?

[Jansa] I do not know whether Kadijevic also intended this threat for the Slovene Territorial Defense Force. He said that he would disarm all formations which are not in conformity with the Constitution. Our Territorial Defense was set up in conformity with it, so there are no constitutional and legal justifications for him to do this. However, if he were, nevertheless, to attempt to do such a thing, this would be against republican and federal laws and we would act toward him as if he were an aggressor.

The Creation of Psychosis

[VJESNIK] Do you nevertheless believe in the possibility of intervention in Slovenia by the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and would you in this case seek help from outside?

[Jansa] Only the SFRY Presidency can proclaim a state of emergency in any part of the country: in this composition, this might even be impossible since at least five votes are needed for such a decision. Thus, the JNA would have a legitimate cover for intervention. However, the question remains of the Army's realistic possibilities for doing something. This same question of possibilities applies even if the Army acts without the approval of the Presidency because it should not be forgotten that it has a multi-ethnic composition and it has been shown that an Army with such a composition is not suitable for solving domestic issues. In other words, the JNA could not take power. Generals, foreign observers, and intelligence services know this.

However, there is another alternative, the one "in between." This amounts to the creation of a conflict situation, threats. This is probably also part of the planned scenario—pressure will have increased to a great extent by the end of the year. At the moment, the disarmament of the Territorial Defense Force being sought, later lists of conscripts will be requested, and after this proceedings will definitely be carried out before a military court and against the heads of communal secretariats for national defense because they will not hand over lists. However, we will defend them. This will be a time when a certain psychosis is created. As regards help from outside, we are not thinking about that, because it is easy to call for help but it is difficult to get rid of it later.

[VJESNIK] Once the referendum is held, can the creation of Slovene Armed Forces be expected?

[Jansa] The referendum will probably be held at the end of December, but this will not have final legal consequences immediately. A period of about six months will be set during which everything that is necessary for independence will be carried out. Of course, the most important thing is to change the present Constitution and this is what Croatia will be doing this month. This new constitution should resolve the question of the existence of a Slovene army.

A Small Army Is the Optimum

[VJESNIK] In the election campaign, virtually all the parties promised demilitarization. However, less and less is being said about this now.

[Jansa] We are all in favor of the demilitarization of Slovenia. However, differences exist as to when this should be carried out. If the situation in Yugoslavia remains the way it is now, then we will certainly have our own army. There is no doubt about this. I must mention that we are being approached every day by members of the JNA and Slovenes, as well as by those who are not, who ask what will become of them after the plebiscite. We have told everyone that if our own army is created, we will accept anyone who wants to follow this vocation—which will not be political but strictly professional—regardless of their political and national ideas. I repeat, all this will be done if a Slovene army is set up.

[VJESNIK] If Slovenia were to be independent or some confederal structure were to be established, how would you intend to solve the question of "military ownership" on your territory?

[Jansa] One of the essential issues in the case of independence is the sharing out of federal property, and most of this property is in heavy armaments and military equipment. A realistic solution is for each republic to primarily retain what is on its territory. There will certainly be problems in distribution but this would have to be some kind of starting point because certainly no one would want to move something out of Belgrade.

[VJESNIK] If a confederal agreement were to be signed with Croatia, does the possibility exist of a joint army being created?

[Jansa] The option of a confederal agreement with Croatia is realistic primarily because it is the only republic apart from ours which advocates such an idea. However, the question is what it will be like once elections are completed in the other republics. This idea about a confederal relationship between Slovenia and Croatia is mainly being considered and it includes different forms of defense. In this case there are several ways of elegantly transferring from federal Armed Forces to confederal ones. This, of course, requires that the military leadership accept such solutions. However, judging by the stands that General Kadijevic put forward in his latest interview, the JNA has decided to go to extremes. It is actually the generals who have the worst chances in all this: they actually have no chance whatsoever with such a political orientation. This is because if there were to be forces in Serbia which advocated a federal army and centralization, they certainly would not support a socialist army, as well. The military leadership is afraid of this and they simply do not have a choice.

[VJESNIK] If Slovenia were to set up its own armed forces, how much would they cost, and what would be the concept?

[Jansa] If a national army of Slovenia were to be set up and if the equipment of the present JNA were to be retained, costs would immediately drop by 30 percent. If the JNA's equipment did not remain, the costs of our own army would be no greater than the present ones, which amount to five percent of national income but which are, realistically speaking, unrealistic because of the fall in production. Regarding the army concept, our center for strategic studies has analyzed the concepts of foreign countries and is now putting forward several variations. According to assessments, a small professional army with great strategic reserves would be optimal for Slovenia. In any case, army training would be reduced to six months. We will construct a defensive army without armored units and air force units because of the possibilities offered by our territory, as well as our economy. Anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons are more effective and 15 times cheaper than for us to oppose a tank with a tank and a plane with a plane. Apart from our own weapons, we would of course buy weapons abroad since this is cheaper than building one's own military industry and producing arms.

[VJESNIK] Will Slovene conscripts be sent to the JNA?

[Jansa] We will continue to send them but according to our own criteria. Slovenia's present legal provisions make this possible for us. Nowadays, we send our conscripts to serve in the army only on the territory of Slovenia, apart from a few who, because of specific services, must be trained elsewhere. Today we are sending 70 percent of the number of conscripts demanded by the JNA and this will continue until the end of the transitional period before the adoption of a new constitution.

Slovene Economic Committee Opposes Draft Budget

LD1812153590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1140 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—The Slovene Chamber of Economy Administrative Committee categorically opposes the new republican draft budget which, in committee members' opinion at today's meeting, is based on the even more marked burdening of the in any case financially extremely exhausted economy of Slovenia.

The committee sharply condemns the lack of the republican government's understanding for the increasingly critical situation of the economy and its refusal to reduce general expenditure. The Republic of Slovenia Executive Council, it stresses, is proposing incomprehensibly high payments from the budget at a time when every third employee in Slovenia is in an enterprise with a blocked account, the fall in production is already just on 10 percent, and the growth in unemployment will soon jump to a critical 12 percent.

Macedonia Supports Planned Slovene Referendum

AU1812150690 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 14 Dec 90 p 4

["D.J."-signed report: "Support for Plebiscite"]

[Text] Skopje, 13 Dec—Following the talks in the Macedonian Assembly, the delegation of the Republic of Slovenia, led by Ivan Bizjak, president of the Chamber of Communes of the Slovene Assembly, held talks last night with the leaders of the victorious nationalist party of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian Unity]. During the meeting the Slovene delegation repeated its position concerning the plebiscite in Slovenia, stressing that setting up a Slovene state is not directed against anybody in the country or outside it. Attaining autonomy [osamostaljenje] could also mean an offer of a new treaty—a confederal or other form of linkage, but not a federal, the representatives of the Slovene Assembly said.

The talks with the leaders of the VMRO-DPMNE were conducted behind closed doors. However, as Ljupco Georgievski, head of the VMRO-DPMNE, told us today, he fully agrees and supports Slovenia's decision to call a plebiscite on the autonomy and independence of Slovenia. He also said that such a move would be too early for Macedonia.

Tetovo Party Reacts to Macedonian Media Changes

LD1812154890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1106 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Skopje, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—The People's Democratic Party in Tetovo reacted sharply today to the

recent initiative of the Workers' Council of Skopje Radio and Television to change its name to Macedonian Radio and Television.

This party considers that this name is an expression of majority decisionmaking, exclusivity, and the usurpation of this Macedonian public information organization to the benefit of the Macedonian nation, and to the disadvantage of the Albanian nationality and others who live in Macedonia.

The people's Democratic Party in Tetovo proposes that Skopje Radio and Television realize at the earliest time the resolute requests of the Albanian population in the framework of television and radio to ensure equal representation of the length of Albanian-language broadcasts as Macedonian-language broadcasts. The realization of this right is seen by this Albanian party in the form of a separate television channel.

Kosovo Leaders Denounce Albanian Demonstrations

LD1812191190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—Zekerijah Cana, leader of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights from Pristina, which exclusively rallies Albanians from Kosovo, denounced as "acts of vandalism" the recent ferocious anti-regime demonstrations held in several cities in Albania and expressed his support for Ramiz Alia.

In an interview for Radio Tirana, Cana said: "We as Albanians have a moral right to call on citizens, workers, students, and schoolchildren in Albania to persistently and resolutely condemn this monstrous vandalism, which could have catastrophic consequences for the future of not just Albania, but of the Albanian nation."

Zekerijah Cana assessed that "these acts of vandalism", as he labeled the wave of demonstrations in Albania last week, "are doing a service to all those small and large states wanting to destroy our nation."

"What has happened serves the aims of long-standing enemies of our nation," Zekerijah Cana stated for Radio Tirana.

He did not specify whom he had in mind, but this was done for him by an official of the Albanian Workers' Party from Shkoder, Dasimir Diuni. In an interview with an AFP special correspondent he said yesterday in Shkoder: "These rallies (people's protest demonstrations throughout Albania) were not spontaneous. Serbia is behind these disturbances, as well as foreign intelligence services, hostile to democratization in Albania".

In the Radio Tirana interview, Cana said among other things that "he trusts the democratic credentials of President Ramiz Alia and holds that the democratic winds and change should be implemented through authentic democratic forms."

Zekerijah Cana, a historian from Kosovo, arrived in his mother country, as he put it, from Geneva as soon as he heard the news about disturbances in Albania. On Sunday [16 December], he had "lengthy talks" with state and party President Ramiz Alia. He also stated in the interview that following the talks "I am not afraid of anyone—I am resolute in the struggle for our just cause."

The chairman of the newly formed Union of Albanian Teachers in Yugoslavia [Savez Albanskih Nastavnika u Jugoslaviju], Redzep Osmani, called on Albanians to put an end to demonstrations. In an interview with the Voice of America, Osmani sent the following message from Pristina: "Do everything possible so that not a single drop of blood or a single tear is shed and that not a single window is broken in Albania."

Federal Court Ruling on Kosovo Poisoning Noted

LD1812214290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2004 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—The Federal Court of Yugoslavia has overruled the decision of the Supreme Court of Kosovo Province that charges should be dropped against eight ethnic Albanians suspected of being the organizers of a staged case of massive poisoning of ethnic Albanian students early this year.

The alleged poisoning of only Albanian students in Kosovo was staged by Albanian separatists in order to provoke a public outcry against the authorities of Serbia, the republic which includes Kosovo Province. None of a number of expert commissions which investigated the case found anything that might prove poisoning.

The Yugoslav Government Secretariat for Information said today that the Federal Court, acting on an appeal by the federal public prosecutor, established that the Kosovo Supreme Court did not act lawfully when it overruled the decision of the Pristina District Court.

Under the Pristina District Court ruling, the eight ethnic Albanians were to be prosecuted for the criminal act of inciting national hatred, discord and intolerance through propaganda and other activities.

The Supreme Court of the Province of Kosovo granted a subsequent appeal by the suspects and overruled the decision of the Pristina District Court. The Supreme Court ruled that the eight ethnic Albanians should be acquitted and set free.

The statement of the Federal Court ruling released by the Government Secretariat for Information today said that the reasons listed by the Kosovo Supreme Court are exclusively the theses of the defence. Countless proof and many circumstances which cast suspicion on these theses were not taken into consideration, the Federal Court ruling said, which essentially violates the law on criminal proceedings.

The Federal Court ruling opens possibilities for a reopening of this case.

Serb Opposition Holds Election Press Conference

LD1812213290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2011 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—The second round of elections in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, scheduled for December 23, will be irregular unless the republican Election Board takes control of the printing and distribution of ballots, a press conference at the Serbian United Opposition headquarters here today was told.

The board was recommended to think again about a possibility of marking the ballots with special seals and signatures for purposes of regularity. Reporters were also told of the complaints by some members of the opposition parties' coalition in the interior about misinformation being spread about them and "intimidation ahead of the second round of elections."

It was announced that the Alliance of Reformist Forces for Serbia would sue Dr Milos Aleksic, a candidate of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia which has a considerable lead over the other parties after the first round, for stating before the cameras of Belgrade Television that the alliance leadership "has met secretly with the (ethnic Albanian) separatists who proclaimed Kosovo a republic."

Spokesmen for an independent trade union on Belgrade Radio Television told the press conference that an editor on the TV's third channel had been fired, and that the suspension was in preparation for many members of the union because of their efforts to "clear up the situation in Belgrade Television and to defend the right to the truth." As a result, the trade union set up a strike committee. Support for the union was expressed today by a group of about 20 Serbian playwrights, who addressed an open letter to the Serbian Parliament protesting against a provision with "a kind of verbal delict" having been retained in the republic's penal code.